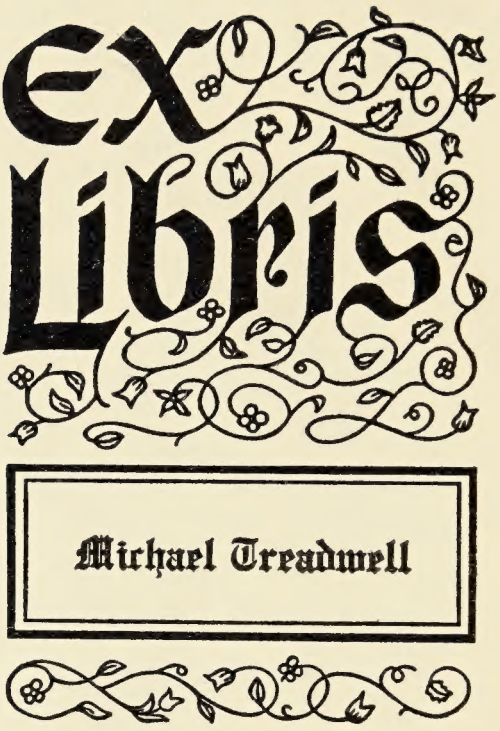
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CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON 1668–1710

Reproduced by the kind permission of Sir Gerald Codrington, Bart. from a portrait preserved at Dodington Park, Gloucestershire

CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON

1668–1710

BY

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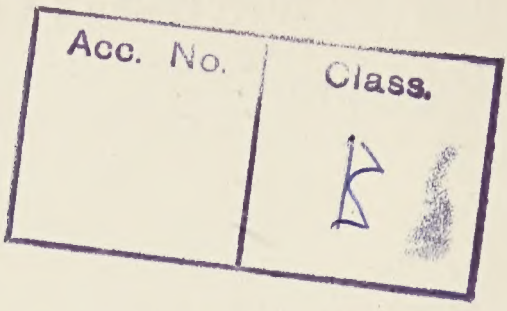

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PREFACE

A LITTLE biography is a dangerous thing; for in such an undertaking the 'disease of biographers' is apt to appear in an exceptionally virulent form. Anxiety to prove the importance of the hero may lead to exaggeration and hence to a distortion of the period in which he lived. From such snares the present author has endeavoured to escape: with what success the reader must judge.

Christopher Codrington is worthy of attention for several reasons. His versatility brought him into prominence in four widely different spheres of activity: as an Oxford scholar, as a littérateur in the London of Addison, Steele, and Dennis, as a Colonel in the Guards under William III in Flanders, and most of all as a Governor-General in the West Indies during a period of stress and peril. So varied a career, when illustrated (as in this case) by a rich collection of hitherto unused documents, provides an exceptional opportunity of studying the condition of England and her colonies at the time—that is to say, under William III and Anne. As the searcher wades through a mass of commonplace and sometimes wearisome records, his eye is caught and his mind refreshed by the pungent wit and shrewd judgement of Codrington's letters and dispatches. Whether he is criticizing a play or analysing a problem of colonial administration, his remarks are informed,

penetrating, and original. They are therefore valuable.

The idea of writing this book was first suggested to me by Sir Charles Firth, and I am greatly in his debt for constant encouragement and advice. I am also very grateful to Professor R. Coupland for reading the manuscript and for offering some valuable suggestions of which I have taken advantage. Books such as this are not in the nature of 'best sellers', and without substantial monetary assistance this biography could not have been published. A subsidy was accordingly voted by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, and the requisite total was made up by donations from the following members of the Codrington family: Sir Gerald W. H. Codrington, Bart. (to whom I am specially indebted for his courtesy and assistance when searching the family papers at Dodington Park); his son, Christopher W. G. H. Codrington, Esq.; and his brother, George J. G. C. Codrington, Esq.; Lieut.-General Sir Alfred E. Codrington, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.; his two sons, Colonel G. R. Codrington, D.S.O., O.B.E., and W. M. Codrington, Esq., M.C.; the Honourable Mrs. Codrington; and Commander C. A. Codrington. My best thanks are due to them for their interest and generosity.

V. T. H.

University College,
Southampton. 1928.

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I

THE CODRINGTONS OF CODRINGTON

IN the shire of Gloucester, on the border of the Cotswold country, lies a secluded corner of England, where life has flowed on century by century little moved by the turmoil of the outer world. Here, in the parish of Wapley and the Hundred of Grumbalds Ash, is the hamlet of Codrington, giving its name to a family who were in all probability franklins of the place in the days before the Conquest. They were quiet country gentlemen, most of them, ruling their domain in patriarchal fashion, with every now and then a soldier faring forth to the wars for the sake of honour and adventure. As the generations rose and died, the family intermarried with some of the oldest stock in England, with Courtenays, Nevils, Beauchamps, Hollands, Staffords, and many other famous names in history, until the present line can boast descent from the Plantagenets.

There were Codringtons, 'men of good note', in the district in the reign of Edward II. One Geoffrey Codrington, born about 1300, left a son named Robert, who was alive in 1399. But it is not until we come to Robert's son, John Codrington, the founder of the elder branch, that any living facts emerge. Born in 1364, he led a long and remarkable life. When fifty years of age he accompanied Henry V to France, being present at the siege of Harfleur and at Agincourt. After the victory, as a reward for prowess, he was appointed a standard-bearer to the King. Nor did he retire at the end of the campaign without some share of the spoil, for in 1429 he purchased a Bull from Pope Martin V, which was not to be had for the asking. As a further reward in the reign of Henry VI (1441) his coat

of arms was formally confirmed: 'and I Clarenceaulx Kinge of Armes, confirme it and witness bearing that the same John Codrington hath beene armed in the present armes in the service of our Soveraigne Lorde King Henry the fifth in Battaile watch and warde under the said our Soveraigne Lorde's Banner, truly and duly unto the worshippe of the said John Codrington.' Only four years later he was granted entirely new arms, consisting of the Lancastrian roses and 'a Right Hande of the Bende in the left Quarter'.[1]

Living in retirement at Codrington, John determined to buy the manor which had been for so long the home of his family; and this he did from the monks of Stanlegh Abbey in 1455. Too old to take an active part in the Wars of the Roses, this aged Lancastrian and his wife raised a large sum of money on their estates in the winter of 1470–1, which was almost certainly spent in the last desperate effort to retrieve the shattered fortunes of Henry VI. This was the interval when Edward IV had been temporarily driven from the throne. After the failure of this last attempt, the stalwart John Codrington lived on for four more years and died at last on the 9th of October 1475, at the remarkable age of 111 years.

Space forbids an account of the descendants of Thomas, John's younger brother, who was the ancestor of the junior line. Under the Tudors the elder branch lived for the most part uneventful lives, ruling the manors of Codrington, Wapley, Tormarton, and Didmarton. Simon Codrington, who lived through the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, was an opulent man but a bad character, who in 1598 was in trouble with the Council of the Marches of Wales for 'incontinent living'. A more noteworthy act was his participation in the

[1] The two coats were in after times borne quarterly, the second coat being an honorary grant of augmentation in reward of service, and not intended to supersede the first.

foundation of the colony of Virginia.[1] His younger brother John, however, was made of sterner stuff. After serving during the latter years of Elizabeth in the Netherland wars with the rank of Captain, he accompanied the first settlers to Virginia in 1607. Of these the majority were unemployed soldiers, prodigal sons, and others who having failed in the Old World hoped to better their fortunes in the New. But Captain John Codrington was possessed of more than one property, and evidently went in search of adventure rather than of gain. Of his courage and enterprise there is the testimony of the famous John Smith himself. A conspiracy of certain Dutchmen with King Powhattan against the English colony having been discovered, the enraged settlers importuned the president to have the offenders slain without delay. 'Amongst many that offered to cut their throats before the face of Powhattan', Smith relates, 'the first was Lieutenant Percy and Mr. John Cudering-ton, two gentlemen of as bold and resolute spirit as could possibly be found.' But the president had occasion of other employment for them. Two others were commissioned 'to goe and stab or shoot' the conspirators.[2]

[1] He appears in the list of adventurers of the Virginia Company set out by the Treasurer and Council in 1620.

[2] Captain John Smith, *Works*, quoted in Codrington MSS. A (notes). The sources herein referred to as Codrington MSS. A consist of a valuable collection of family documents preserved at Dodington Park, Gloucestershire, which I was permitted to examine by the courtesy of Sir Gerald Codrington, Bt. In addition to a manuscript history of the family and the copious diary of Sir Bethell Codrington (*ob.* 1843), there is much useful material illustrative of economic conditions in the West Indies during the eighteenth century, particularly: (i) *The Codrington Ledger* (3 vols.), 1758–76; (ii) *Letter Book of Codrington and Miller* (Merchants), 1758–61; (iii) *An Account of the Codrington Plantations in Antigua and Barbuda and their Management* (3 vols.), 1789–91. This last is a series of interesting and useful letters from Christopher Bethell Codrington, while living in the Leeward Islands, to his uncle Sir William Codrington. Social, economic, and political topics are discussed, including the proposal to abolish the slave trade.

At length John Codrington exchanged the sword for the pen, and was admitted to the Inner Temple on the 16th of July 1616. Six years later his varied and adventurous career came to a peaceful end.[1]

Coming to the period of the Civil War and the more immediate ancestors of Christopher Codrington we find the family for the most part on the royalist side. At this time the head of the family was John who succeeded his grandfather Simon in 1631, thus becoming lord of the manors of Codrington, Wapley, Didmarton, and Tormarton, and the master of a considerable inheritance. His royalist sympathies are shown by his appointment in 1638 to the office of High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, since after the Ship Money decision in 1637 none but known royalists were appointed to posts which entailed the collecting of that impost. In 1642 when the Parliament began to arm he was called upon to raise troops as deputy-lieutenant for the county, which he evidently refused to do. Soon afterwards he was in arms for the King, and took part as a lieutenant-colonel in the Cornish rising under Hopton. The victory of Roundway Down and the capture of Bristol secured the west for the King, and spread panic among the Parliament men. The organization, however, of the new model army and the crushing defeat of Naseby sealed the fate of the royalist cause. In 1645 Colonel John Codrington was taken prisoner at the capture of Dartmouth Castle. In the same year his estates and

[1] The following complimentary verses are to be found prefixed to Captain John Smith's *Travels* (p. 88):

To his Worthy Captain, the author—

That which we call the subject of all storie
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine gives glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then scorn the spight
Of Envie, which doth no man's merits right—
My sword may help the rest. My Pen no more
Can doe but this: I've said enough before.
You sometime Souldier John Codrington, now Templer.

those of his wife were sequestrated, and until their recovery in 1653 the two must have suffered considerable privation. Of his subsequent career nothing is now known, save that he survived the Restoration, and died in 1670.

As so often happened in the Civil War members of the same family fought on opposite sides. While Colonel John was fighting for the King, his younger brother Robert was supporting the Parliament. According to Anthony Wood the latter was by way of being an historian and a poet. Going up to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1619 at the age of seventeen as a demy, he took the degrees in arts, that of master being conferred in 1626. 'And afterwards upon his return from his travels, [he] lived in the quality of a gentleman in Norfolk for several years, and there took to him a wife.' Afterwards repairing to London he produced a vast succession of translations, political, literary, and theological, and at the same time acquired the reputation of being a rank Parliamentarian. In 1640, however, he was imprisoned by the Long Parliament for writing a poem in praise of Strafford. Fortunately a letter of his, written while in prison to Sir Edward Dering, is still extant. 'When I heard', he wrote, 'that he [Strafford] was committed by the Parliament, there was no man that entertayned the newes with a more perfect joy; and when agayne the sentence of death did proceed against him, there was no man concluded that it was more justly done.' After vindicating his loyalty to Parliament, he concludes with a pathetic appeal. 'I have been a long time sick, and my sickness is attended with a greate lameness. I am brought by a grievous consumption even to the Grave already. I should be loath to breathe out my laste in a prison, from whence neither the weakness of my body nor the burden of my ensuing debts would suffer me to returne alive.'[1]

[1] Camden Society Publications, No. 80, *Proceedings principally in the*

Apparently his appeal was not without effect, for there is evidence to show that he was afterwards in the field with the Parliamentary forces. After the Restoration he continued his literary work until 1665 when he, with so many others in London, was cut off by the Plague.

Such then were John and Robert Codrington. Between these two was another and more important brother, Christopher by name, the grandfather of Codrington of All Souls. It has often been remarked how large a part in the building of the British Empire has been borne by younger sons, who, having little prospect of advancement at home, became leaders and builders in far-off lands. This Christopher in or about the year 1628 gathered his wealth together and sailed away for Barbados in the West Indies. Only the year before, the first English colony on that island had been settled by Sir William Courteen and his fellow adventurers. Christopher Codrington was therefore a pioneer, who encountered exceptionally hazardous and difficult conditions.

Having bought a strip of land from Captain Henry Powell, one of Courteen's associates,[1] he would first of all clear away the virgin forest and build himself a wooden shack. Famine and sudden death were almost the daily companions of early settlers. But these normal hazards were seriously multiplied in Barbados by the violent struggle which soon took place between the Courteen planters and a rival body sent out by the Earl of Carlisle, to whom the King had granted the proprietorship.

How Codrington fared in this troubled time is a matter of conjecture. Evidently he made his peace with the Carlisle agents, for he escaped the fate of eviction, suffered by the majority of the Courteen

Courts of Kent, in connexion with the Parliaments called in 1640. Ed. Rev. L. B. Larking, M.A., 1862, p. 49.

[1] See Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian) C, vol. 94, f. 34.

party.[1] Sometime between 1632 and 1640 he seems to have married Frances, the sister of the famous Sir James Drax, one of the most prominent and capable of the Barbadian settlers.[2] He it was who, with a few others, introduced into the island such improvements in the cultivation of sugar that Barbados rapidly grew to be one of the richest English colonies in the New World. The wealth of Drax himself became proverbial, and evidently that of his brother-in-law proportionately increased.[3] In 1641 the latter was appointed a member of the Council, and from 1642–7 we find him engaging in the purchase and sale of land on a considerable scale. About the same time, too, he became a lieutenant-colonel in the militia.

Meantime, however, a storm was gathering, which was soon to burst and plunge the island into the distraction of civil war.[4] Ever since the collapse of the royalist cause in England, Parliament had been endeavouring to secure the allegiance of the colonies. But to all overtures, whether they came from Westminster or from the exiled Prince, the Barbadians returned a steady negative. Neutrality, they answered, was their only hope of continued existence. For a time the aged Governor, Philip Bell, maintained an uneasy balance of power between the two factions in the island. But gradually, as a stream of royalist refugees poured

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] She was a spinster in 1632 and bore a son to Codrington in 1640 (V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, London, 1896, vol. i, p. 144).

[3] 'Colonel James Drax, whose beginning upon that Island, was founded upon a stock not exceeding 300 sterling, has raised his fortune to such a height, as I have heard him say that he would not look towards England, till he were able to purchase an estate of 10,000*l.* [in] land yearly, which he hoped in a few years to accomplish . . . and all this by planting of sugar' (Richard Ligon, *History of Barbados*, London, 1657, p. 98).

[4] For a detailed account of these events see Harlow, *History of Barbados*, Clarendon Press, 1926, Chap. II, § i.

into Barbados in ever-increasing numbers, this neutral policy became more and more difficult to maintain. Walrond and the Cavalier extremists deliberately launched a campaign which aimed at the banishment of the Roundheads and the confiscation of their property. After spreading abroad a rumour that the latter were engineering a *coup d'état* to seize the government, the royalists (who had a majority in the assembly) laid a secret proposal before the Government in March 1650 that all Parliament men should be exiled forthwith. Frightened by what they had been told, the Council and Assembly appointed a joint committee, 'to consider of the quietest and most peaceable wayes of sending these malignants into exile'.[1]

Though Codrington himself was a royalist, he had no sympathy with violent and unjust measures of this kind. Moreover, his brother-in-law, James Drax, was a leader of the Roundheads. In order, therefore, to avoid civil war, which he realized was now imminent, he divulged the secret of the plot to Drax and his friends. The rage of the disappointed royalists was extreme. 'For this his offence', we are told, 'he was censured, to pay twenty thousand pounds in sugar fine, and to depart the Island.'[2] Fortunately his exile was of short duration. A month later the arrival of Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham brought about a change of policy; all sentences of banishment being annulled.

With the subsequent period of warfare in which Lord Willoughby was finally compelled to surrender to a Parliament expedition under Sir George Ayscue, this

[1] Egerton MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 2395, f. 49.

[2] *A Briefe Relation of the late Horrid Rebellion . . .*, by Nicholas Foster, London, 1650, p. 8. An ultra-royalist account states that Codrington was drunk at the time and did not know what he was doing! Cf. Darnell-Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados*, p. 144.

narrative is not concerned. Christopher Codrington lived on under the Protectorate, ending his strenuous career about 1656. He was buried in the parish of St. John, Barbados, under a tropic sky many thousand miles from Wapley church, where his forbears slept in the county of Gloucester.[1]

A son survived this pioneer, also a Christopher, born in 1640.[2] His remarkable career in Barbados and afterwards as Governor-General of the Leeward Islands is closely bound up with the early life of his son, the third Christopher, with whom the present narrative is primarily concerned, and will therefore be treated in detail in its proper place.

The strenuous and distinguished service rendered by this man and his son in the West Indies was in some sort rewarded by the conferring in 1721 of a baronetcy on William Codrington, grandson of the second and heir to the third Christopher. Inheriting the vast wealth amassed in the Indies by his grandfather and great-grandfather before him, he retired to England and took up his abode at Dodington Park, which had been bought from Samuel Codrington, the representative of the ancient younger line of the family. Sir William became Member of Parliament for Minehead and a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. He is known also to have been a friend of the poet Pope. He married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of William

[1] Much confusion has arisen concerning the career of this first Christopher Codrington, chiefly owing to the recurrence of the same Christian name in three successive generations. It has been frequently stated that he fought for the royalist cause in England (probably a confusion with Col. John Codrington) and did not go out to Barbados until 1649 (see N. Darnell-Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 144, and V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, London, 1896, vol. i, p. 144). That these statements are erroneous is sufficiently shown by the documentary evidence quoted above.

[2] A document dated 30 June 1688 states that his age was then 48 (V. L. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 144).

Bethell, Esq., of Swindon in Yorkshire, and died in the year 1738.[1]

These descendants of Codrington of All Souls have in later times produced three generals, and two distinguished admirals for the service of their country, of whom General Sir William John Codrington, of the Coldstream Guards, distinguished himself in the Crimea, and Admiral Sir Edward Codrington won fame at Navarino.[2]

Such then in brief is the tale of the lords of Codrington. From the warrior of Agincourt to the admiral of the Fleet they have been, for the most part, men of action. Royalists and Roundheads, pioneers in Virginia and the Indies, soldiers and sailors, the sum total of their service is no small one.

[1] Except where otherwise stated, the information in this chapter is drawn from *Memoir of the Family of Codrington of Codrington, Didmarton, Frampton-on-Sea and Dodington,* by R. H. Codrington, D.D. (Letchworth, 1910), and from a more detailed MS. account in two volumes by the same author, which is in the possession of Sir Gerald Codrington, Bt.

[2] See Appendix C, ' Distinguished Descendants ', below.

II

CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON THE ELDER (1640–98)

BEFORE embarking upon the career of Codrington of All Souls, it will be well to consider that of his father the second Christopher, who preceded him as Governor-General of the Leeward Islands. Christopher Codrington the elder was in his own way a giant. As a planter he amassed the greatest individual fortune in the West Indies; as a soldier he saved the Leeward Islands from destruction at the hands of the French; and as an administrator he achieved the difficult task of introducing reforms and maintaining order in a turbulent community. Being at once masterful and passionate, his great weakness lay in a tendency to high-handedness, which occasionally merged into downright tyranny. Genial and debonair though he usually was, the infliction of an injury could arouse in him tempestuous anger. He thus evoked great love and great hate. His friends and his own negroes accorded him unswerving devotion: his enemies pursued him with their rancour even after his death. In all these traits the rugged old planter and his son are strikingly similar. But there the parallel ends. Whereas the father spent all his days among hard-living planters and negro slaves, the younger man grew up among the scholars of Oxford and the literary lights of Paris and London. The divergent environments produced correspondingly different results. In the case of the elder Codrington, the pursuit of riches and power became an obsession which gradually dominated his outlook, so that the last years of his life were marred by arrogance, injustice, and self-seeking. Nevertheless, behind his towering strength and tenacity a group of despairing communities achieved internal stability and victory

over their enemies. Such a one, with all his faults, commands attention and respect.

Of the early years of this second Christopher Codrington, who was born in Barbados in 1640, we know virtually nothing. His father (the first Christopher)[1] died when he was sixteen years old, and the boy seems to have been brought up with his younger brother, John, under the care of his mother, who administered the family estates until he came to years of maturity. At the early age of twenty-three he was actively engaged in public affairs, being then a trustee for the sale of the island of St. Lucia. Three years later he was chosen a member of the Council by Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, the governor and proprietor. 'He is well-beloved', wrote William Willoughby at the time, 'and free from faction, an ingenious young gentleman.'[2] Vacating his position on the Council at the death of Lord Francis, he was reinstated in June 1667 by William Lord Willoughby, as having been a supporter of his brother's vigorous war policy.[3] And such was the confidence which young Codrington had inspired, that Willoughby appointed him deputy-governor on departing for England in February 1669.

Codrington's régime was nothing if not vigorous. Just twenty-nine and full of ambition, he took upon himself the role of a new broom, and not without commotion. He immediately aroused the surprise and anger of the planters by strictly enforcing the Navigation Acts. In general, however, his efficient administration gained their respect and support, until the Home Government brought down a storm upon their own heads and that of their representative by appropriating

[1] See pp. 6–9, above.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661–8, No. 1283. Cf. Egerton MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 2395, f. 444.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661–8, No. 1501.

the 4½ per cent. duty on exports for its own use. The incensed planters immediately retorted by refusing supplies, even refusing to support the English garrison upon which their own safety depended. 'All my persuasions', Codrington reported, 'would not prevaile the last sitting of the Assembly to quarter them any longer.' [1]

Faced by a crisis, he exhibited considerable powers of tact and leadership. While vigorously protesting against the action of the Crown, he did all in his power to dissuade the planters from their suicidal policy. 'I have', he wrote to Lord Willoughby, 'by my ernest persuading gote the Assembly to quarter the poore souldiers for two months longer, before the experation of which time I hope some Care wilbe taken for their Soporte.' 'The Council and Assembly', he added, 'dined with me when I gotte them into this good humer; I fear it will not laste.' [2] He had at any rate learned what a potent factor in politics a good dinner can be.

For one more uneasy year the Deputy-Governor steered his troubled course between the Scylla of popular caprice and the Charybdis of English criticism. According to Sir Thomas Lynch, the Governor of Jamaica, who visited Barbados about this time, he came out of the ordeal with credit. 'Colonel Christopher Codrington', he reported, 'being of a debonaire liberal humour, a native, and a planter, they have been kind to, giving him [i.e. for Government expenses] in the two and a half years he has commanded 3 to 400,000 lb. sugar; and he has got them to raise 1,100,000 or

[1] Codrington to Lord Willoughby (18 April 1670), C.O. 1/25, No. 23 (Public Record Office). [In cases where the original document has been consulted, the call-number at the Record Office is given, as here: otherwise the reference relates to the *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, abbreviated as *Cal. Col.*]

[2] Codrington to Lord Willoughby (15 January 1671), C.O. 1/26, No. 6 (P.R.O.).

1,200,000 lb. for finishing the four forts, where he has mounted ninety-two guns.'[1]

Lord Willoughby, however, had come to a different conclusion. 'Coll. Codrington', he wrote, 'hath harrassed them to death with needless impossitions.'[2] In July 1672 he was dismissed. Both sides of the medal were probably accurate. On the one hand, the fact that Codrington had carried no less than sixty Bills during his period of office, many of which inaugurated important reforms, speaks for itself.[3] On the other hand, it seems equally true that his anxiety to build up a strong military system of defence had led him into expenditure which severely strained the finances of the island.

Dismissed from the Council after Lord Willoughby's return in October 1672, he transferred his activities to the Assembly, to which he was returned as a member for the parish of St. John. The general respect in which he was held is illustrated by the fact that he was elected to the Speaker's chair no less than nine times between the years 1674 and 1682. When the stormy régime of Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins was terminated in July 1680 with his recall, Codrington endeavoured to satisfy his political ambition by securing the vacant post for himself. Unfortunately for Barbados, the intervention of the Marquess and Marchioness of Worcester on his behalf[4] was unavailing, the successful candidate being an unscrupulous adventurer named Sir Richard Dutton.

The arbitrary proceedings of the new Governor quickly aroused a fierce opposition, of which Codrington

[1] Lynch to Secretary Arlington (7 January 1671), C.O. 1/26, No. 71 (P.R.O.).

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 483 (Willoughby to Thomas Povey, 14 November 1672). Cf. a similar statement by Willoughby to the Earl of Essex, Stowe MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 201, f. 145.

[3] See the full text of these Acts in *Laws of Barbados, 1648–1718* (Baskett, London, 1732), Nos. 114–73 inclusive.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, XII, 9, *Beaufort MSS.*, p. 78.

as the most popular man in the Assembly assumed the leadership. The upshot was an unrelenting persecution which seems to have determined Codrington to leave Barbados and extend his fortune in the Leeward Islands.[1] Already in 1677 he and his brother John[2] had secured a fifty years' lease of the untenanted island of Barbuda from the Crown. In 1681 the two brothers obtained a further grant of 380 acres in Antigua. While John betook himself to Barbuda, where he built a castle, Christopher, in February 1683, leased his well-stocked Barbadian plantations to one Captain Higginbotham and devoted himself to developing his new estates in Antigua.[3]

Christopher's career in the Leeward Islands, with

[1] Dutton's first step had been to cancel Codrington's commission as major-general. The next attack was more serious. Discovering that Codrington had not accounted for certain sums of money during his deputy governorship, he instituted proceedings against him as a debtor to the King. Despite the fact that the accused produced accounts to show that the Crown was in debt to him to the extent of £1,200, he was ordered to refund £579 10*s*. When reporting the incident to the Home Authorities Dutton remarked that 'it makes the hearts of the factious to ache to see the most popular man in the Assembly in trouble' (Dutton to the Lords of Plantations and Trade, 29 August 1682, *Cal. Col.*, 1681–5, No. 666).

[2] John Codrington, who married a daughter of Colonel Bates of Barbados, took an active part in Island politics. From 1673 to 1685 he was regularly a member of the Assembly for St. Michael's parish. During that time he was a lieut.-colonel in the Militia, Keeper of the Magazine, and Treasurer for the Excise. After removing to Barbados he lived there alone until his death *circa* 1688. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, I, *Devonshire MSS.* (papers of Sir William Turnbull), p. 253. The accounts of Sir J. Maclean and others frequently confuse Colonel John with his nephew John, younger son of the elder Codrington, and seem to have been written without reference to Public Record Office documents.

[3] V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua* (London, 1896), vol. ii, p. 302. In 1684 Christopher raised a mortgage of £4,042 12*s*. on his Barbadian plantations, probably to meet new expenses in Antigua. In the following year he raised another £7,000 on the same security (*ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 153).

all its faults, places him among the outstanding Englishmen of his generation in the New World. While in command he laid down lines of policy which were closely followed in later years by his son and successor. His opportunity came in July 1689 when the Jacobite Governor-General, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, was asked voluntarily to retire. When announcing his resignation to the Lords of Trade, Johnson wrote that he intended to commit the government to Codrington, 'a gentleman of great estate here in Barbados, and much beloved by the Inhabitants, and suggested for the office by them'.[1] The task with which he was then entrusted was no light one, for the Leeward Islands were in a position of extreme peril. The planters were distracted by internal treachery and dissension, and their extinction at the hands of the French was a daily possibility. The meagre English garrison, in dire need of victuals, clothes, and arms, was totally inadequate to face an organized attack; and to make matters worse the soldiers' pay was six years in arrears. The morale of the planters had been badly shaken by French and Spanish incursions, and by a revolt of the Irish in St. Kitts and Montserrat who indulged in a local 'jacquerie'. Finally, a week before Codrington took over, a formidable fleet had appeared before St. Kitts and was laying siege to Fort Charles.

The effect produced by his strong hand was instantaneous. As soon as the defences of Antigua had been secured, he sailed with every available ship to Nevis in order to give the garrison 'a little breathing time' by distracting the French from Fort Charles. The Home Government was also warned that if they persisted in their neglect, disaster would be inevitable. 'I hope the

[1] Johnson to the Lords of Trade (15 July 1689), *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 256. Codrington's appointment was confirmed by the Government early in September (*ibid.*, Nos. 410 and 414). Cf. Luttrell's *Diary* (Oxford, 1857), vol. i, p. 579.

speedy arrival of a fleet', he wrote, 'will turn our mourning into joy; in fact, without it we will be exposed to the Egyptian task of making bricks without straw & shall run much greater hazard than you could have exposed us to.'[1] The warning was fully justified by the event. Although an Irish rebellion in Barbuda was suppressed and an invading force of two hundred Irish and French put to flight, the impending blow had in the meantime fallen at St. Kitts. After holding out for three weeks the gallant little garrison, three hundred strong, had been compelled to capitulate on the 5th of August to a besieging army which numbered three thousand. St. Kitts was in the hands of the French, and the unfortunate English planters with their families were shipped off to Nevis.

The autumn and winter of 1689 saw Codrington battling with a spirit of unreasoning obstinacy and selfishness. Even in peace time each island regarded its neighbours with undisguised suspicion, and degraded its own politics by constant feuds among the planters and bickerings with the Governor. Under the stress of war and panic these weaknesses were apt to come into ugly prominence. On behalf of the islanders it must be admitted that their condition was pitiable. Nevis was crowded out by fugitives from St. Kitts and Anguilla (which the French had rendered untenable), and was suffering from epidemics of fever and small-pox, which within a few weeks swept off five hundred whites and two hundred negroes. Antigua, although reinforced by Sir Timothy Thornhill's regiment from Barbados, was in continual alarm from raids by the Caribs. And both islands were in daily expectation of an Irish rebellion in Montserrat,[2] or a sudden invasion

[1] Codrington to the Lords of Trade (31 July 1689), *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 312.

[2] Codrington to the Lords of Trade (11 November 1689), *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 548. This and other incidents led Codrington to go to

by the French, who with their supremacy at sea were masters of the situation. Nevertheless, it is easier to understand than to condone the spirit of petty selfishness which was evinced. One of the worst incidents in this respect was in connexion with the refugees from St. Kitts, who were treated with little short of barbarity by their fellow countrymen of Nevis. 'I can only call it', wrote Codrington in hot indignation, 'a most wicked and unchristian contrivance to ravish from these poor creatures what little they have saved from their more merciful enemies the French.'[1]

Faced by desperate conditions, Codrington adopted a policy of bluff. A series of daring and successful raids, largely financed from his own pocket, was launched against the French islands, thus keeping up an imposing show in the face of the enemy until a fleet should arrive from England. While one expedition under an able commander named Hewetson devastated Mariegalante, Sir Timothy Thornhill with 1,300 men

the root of the trouble, and incidentally to lay his finger on one of the weak spots of the old colonial system, namely, the continuous encroachment of the local Assembly on the power of the executive by manipulating the purse-strings. The result, as is well known, was a state of warfare between governor and legislature. Codrington made the interesting suggestion that the colonies should be granted representation at Westminster (*ibid.*)—an idea which was subsequently revived by his son. Whether the suggestion was a feasible one is, however, an open question.

[1] Codrington's dispatches in connexion with the Irish problem are full of shrewd insight and humour, not untinged with contempt. On one occasion after discussing the possibility of a wholesale defection to the French, he wrote: 'In fact it is sufficiently obvious that it is the interest of the Irish to join with us but the misery of it is that an assinegoe may as soon be taught logic as they to understand it.' He was careful, however, to add that 'it would be very prudent at such a time to take pains with them to banish past heats and bitterness and use kindness and goodnature towards them' (*Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 789, viii).

similarly captured and sacked St. Bartholomew.[1] At the same time Codrington was writing dispatch after dispatch urging the Home Government to come to their rescue. It was seven months since the fall of St. Kitts and nothing had been done. 'I beg that a fleet at least sufficient for our defence, if for no other design, may be hastened.' The French population in the West Indies was less than ten to one of the English. 'A fleet and suitable instructions to the Governors would suffice to drive the French out of America, and I heartily hope this war may see it done.'[2]

At last on Saturday, the 31st of May 1690, the long-awaited fleet from England dropped anchor at Antigua with military stores and a British regiment on board. Without delay Codrington prepared to take the offensive on a large scale, although the wretched condition of the stores and personnel considerably damped his enthusiasm. Indeed, as will be seen more clearly at a later stage, the burden of war was straining the Home Administration, already corrupt and inefficient, to breaking point. Codrington, however, made excellent use of the resources at his disposal. On the night of the 19th of June a force of 2,500 men set out with the fleet for the recapture of St. Kitts.[3] A surprise landing

[1] See *A True and Faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary, in their Expedition against the French in the Caribby Islands in the West Indies under the Conduct of his Excellency Christopher Codrington, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the said Forces, in the years 1689 and 1690. Written by T. Spencer, Junior. Secretary to the Honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Bart.* (London, 1691), pp. 3–6. Cf. the short but vivid 'Account of the action at St. Martins under Captain Hewetson', *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 789, i.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 789.

[3] The following account of the taking of St. Kitts is chiefly drawn from Spencer's *True and Faithful Relation* (*ut supra*). Cf. Codrington's dispatches printed by V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. ii, p. lxix; also *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, Nos. 977, 988, 1004, 1034, i. It has been stated

at Frigate Bay was foiled by the alertness of the French, who were found lining their trenches along the sea-shore. But an alternative scheme was devised by Codrington which proved entirely successful. About half a mile away there was a goat-path, which led from a creek up the side of a steep mountain and so into the very backs of the enemy. After this path had been successfully reconnoitred towards evening, it was decided that a picked force of 550 men under Thornhill should attempt a landing there between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 21st. As on the Heights of Abraham on a greater occasion, the French had neglected the defence of this spot, considering that the precipitous slopes rising sheer from the sea were inaccessible. In order further to delude the enemy, Codrington ordered the frigates to fall to leeward so as to give them the impression that the manœuvre against Frigate Bay had been only a feint, designed to cover a real attack upon the old English quarter. As Codrington afterwards learned, the ruse was completely successful, for the French ordered 400 men to leeward on a wild-goose chase. Meanwhile, Thornhill and his advance guard were carrying the heights. Landing without opposition, they scrambled up, being 'obliged to crawl over a great part of it on all fours, and to pull themselves foreward by the bushes'. On the top they drove off an ambuscade and opened fire upon the rear of the enemy's trenches. Seeing that all was going well Codrington put ashore with six hundred men. After a two-hours' engagement the French were driven out of their entrenchments with a loss of only ten killed and

(*Memoir of the Codringtons of Codrington*, p. 126, and *Biographica Britannica*, London, 1794, vol. iii, p. 673) that the younger Codrington took part in this campaign. I can find no evidence for this statement. Moreover, it is very unlikely that he would be in the West Indies in the same year that he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls. It is probably one of the many mistakes which have arisen from confusion between father and son.

thirty wounded among the English. Thornhill in particular behaved with great gallantry, for although shot in the leg he refused to retire until the French had been expelled. As soon as the main body of the troops had been landed, Codrington ordered them to march on to Basse Terre in two columns, the one following the usual lowland road, the other advancing by the mountains. The upper line, consisting of the Marine and Blue regiments, met with little opposition, but the second column was confronted by the main body of the French who for an hour fought a stubborn rearguard action. Eventually, however, 'they made all the heels they could'. The two columns then united and without further opposition marched into Basse Terre, which, after Codrington had wisely ordered all liquor to be 'secured in a convenient storehouse', was plundered by the invaders.

While the men were resting in Basse Terre, the field artillery was landed from the ships. The army then moved on and took up their quarters at the Old Road preparatory to an attack upon the Fort, where the French were making their last stand. At once Codrington set about the difficult task of building battery positions and hauling guns up to Brimstone Hill which overlooked the Fort. Without the help of the trusty regiment of sailors, he reported, this feat could not have been accomplished. Indeed the general morale seems to have been excellent. 'Our people', he reported, 'work in the trenches as if it were rather diversion than labour or hazard; only two have been wounded and they slightly. To-day they have been making themselves the pastime to equip some stakes with coats and hats, which, while the *Monsieurs* briskly fire at, gave our people the advantage of better marks. I hope to finish the work successfully. I have fully resolved, and so I believe have all with me, to find a grave in this Island or make it an entirely English colony, which will

be some reparation for lives lost and families ruined in the several wars.'[1]

A period of trench warfare then followed in which Codrington displayed fine qualities of leadership. At the same time a continuous bombardment was kept up, which riddled the French buildings and gave the garrison no rest by day or night. Steadily the entrenchments crept closer to the Fort, until by the 11th of July the English were within pistol-shot of the enemy's position. Negotiations were opened; but Codrington took no risks and continued to mine and sap. Finally on Monday the 14th the French surrendered: St. Kitts was once more in the hands of the English. 'After the enemy marched out,' we are told, 'and the English flag was put up, the King's and Queen's Healths were drank, and the great guns three times fired, three vollies being also made by the whole army.'[2] As soon as possession of the fort had been gained, Codrington disarmed all the French inhabitants and shipped them off, some to Hispaniola, some to St. Martin, and others to Martinique and San Domingo. Throughout the operations invaluable service had been rendered by Thornhill and his gallant regiment of Barbadians, but Codrington's strategy, in which daring was combined with patience, and above all his knack of inspiring enthusiasm, had been the prime factors in a brilliant campaign.

If the taking of St. Kitts shows both the islanders and the imperial forces at their best, the subsequent events equally reveal the darker side of the picture. During the hurricane season of the autumn of 1690 Codrington was bending all his energies to the task of fitting out an armament with which to expel the French from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Mariegalante. Yet

[1] Codrington to the Lords of Trade from the camp at St. Kitts (4 July 1690), *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 977.

[2] Spencer's *True and Faithful Relation*, p. 8.

on every side he found himself thwarted and abused. Disheartened by the continued havoc wrought by fever and by the report that the fleet was under orders for home, the planters gave way once more to dissension and back-biting. Refusing to listen to Codrington's urgent advice to strike again while the iron was hot by attacking Guadeloupe, they refused to move until the plunder had been divided. The inevitable result was a series of violent quarrels. It was a sorry business to see men who had acquitted themselves with honour on the battle-field wrangle like pickpockets over the proceeds.

With infinite patience and labour Codrington gradually overcame these and other hindrances, so that by the beginning of April 1691 he was able in conjunction with Captain Wright's naval squadron to launch his great counter-offensive against the French. Already on the 15th of March the English Blue Regiment had been sent on ahead to attack Mariegalante, which, being found deserted, had been occupied. To that island, which was the rendezvous, Codrington himself set sail with 1,100 Leeward men on Wednesday, the 1st of April. The total land force which mustered there amounted to two thousand five hundred men. It was indeed Codrington's supreme effort: the weak and poverty-stricken islanders could do no more.[1] It was, therefore, particularly tragic that lack of co-operation on the part of the navy—a defect which wrecked so many English enterprises in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century—should have been the cause of disaster.

Codrington's own plan of campaign was first to

[1] Cf. Archibald Hutcheson to the Lords of Trade, 3 April 1619, *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 1382: 'I expect that this will be the last expedition from the Leeward Islands during this war, so innumerable are the difficulties and contradictions met with by the Governor in bringing them to bear.'

attack Martinique, while the rest of the troops proceeded to reduce Guadeloupe, which would have been isolated. Thus to capture Martinique was to conquer both islands. Moreover Guadeloupe, the strongest of all the French Islands, had long expected an attack and had made elaborate preparations, whereas Martinique could be taken by surprise. Unfortunately a council of war reversed the order. On the 21st of April the expedition accordingly landed on the western side of Guadeloupe. Marching southward parallel to the coast, Codrington drove the French before him and burned their chief towns until he came within sight of the formidable fortress on the heights above Basse Terre. In view of the great strength of the place, it was decided to send to Barbados for reinforcements. Meanwhile, though hampered by heavy rains and much fever among the troops, Codrington continued to press the attack until he had made a breach in the fort and was ready for a general assault. At this critical juncture Captain Wright (who had already been singularly backward in doing his duty) suddenly recalled the seamen on board ship and prepared to sail away in pursuit of a French fleet which had made its appearance. The army was to be left 'high and dry' to fend for itself. In hot anger Codrington urged him to leave at any rate one ship to protect the land forces. He refused; and a violent scene took place. A few days later the general disgust against Wright was intensified when, with the French fleet practically in his power, he let the prize slip out of his hands through sheer sluggishness. The soldiers had another name for his conduct. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that a council of war, despite the most urgent pleading by Codrington, resolved to abandon the attack. The expedition broke up, having achieved virtually nothing after being within an ace of an important conquest. In rage and disappointment Codrington wrote home to tell the

Government that one more promising enterprise had been ruined through lack of co-operation between army and navy. 'Such a misfortune as a second Captain Wright may not occur again, but the more surely the two authorities are united, the greater will be the efficiency of our operations. . . . In such expeditions unless the land-commander has absolute command of the squadron, he can have little satisfaction or certainty in any undertaking.'[1] Yet the lesson was not taken to heart. Curiously enough, the younger Codrington in after years met with disaster at the same spot for exactly the same reason. The concluding sentences of his dispatch on that occasion point out the root cause of the failure in words that are almost identical with those of his father eleven years before.[2] As regards Captain Wright, it must be remembered that he was a sick man at the time and rightly nervous for the safety of his ships, for which he was responsible to an Admiralty Board who would give short shrift to any officer who sacrificed the Navy for the benefit of land operations. The thoroughly bad condition of the Home Administration was reflected in the attitude of its subordinates overseas. On the other hand it is equally clear that Wright was not typical of the naval officers of the time. The affair at Guadeloupe was not the only occasion when his lack of enthusiasm (to put it no lower) had occasioned disaster. Moreover, after he had retired from Guadeloupe to Barbados he refused to allow any of his ships to go cruising, and proposed an immediate

[1] Codrington's dispatch (2 July 1691), *Cal. Col.*, 1689–92, No. 1,617. Cf. Nos. 1,546, 1,614, 2,404. In May 1693 Captain Wright was court-martialled on board H.M.S. *Britannia* 'upon an accusation of divers misdeamouners committed . . . by him during his comd. in the West Indies and Articled agst. him by Coll. Codrington . . .' He was, however, acquitted. (Carte MSS. [Bodleian], Earl of Huntingdon Papers, vol. 76, f. 216.)

[2] See Chapter VII, pp. 169–70, below.

return home for refitting until overborne by his own captains.

Upon his return from Guadeloupe, Codrington plunged once more into the intricacies of internal administration, in which he displayed considerable powers of organization and statesmanship. His treatment of the various problems is marked by a habit of critical analysis which always drove him to the root of the matter in hand. His well-conceived plan for the resettlement of St. Kitts is a case in point. Ever since its capture he had been urging the desirability of effective occupation upon the unwilling planters of Nevis and Antigua, who regarded with disfavour any project which tended to thin their own numbers for defence. More far-sighted, Codrington argued that a flourishing St. Kitts would be an increasing source of military and economic strength to the other islands. 'All turns upon mastery of the sea. If we have it, our Islands are safe however thinly populated; if the French have it, we cannot, after the recent mortality, raise men enough in all the Islands to hold them.'[1] As a recent writer has justly remarked, 'it was ignorance of this truth which led to all our reverses in the West Indies in 1781–1782.'[2] Failing to convince the planters, Codrington laid his case before the Lords of Trade in a remarkable memorandum entitled 'Propositions for the settlement of St. Christophers without cost to the English Exchequer', which indicates the personality of the man more clearly than any other document that has come down to us. His capacity for independent thinking was perhaps the most outstanding trait inherited from him by his famous son.[3] With regard to land tenure, he put his

[1] 'An Account of Governor Codrington's proceedings as to the Settlement of St. Christophers' (*Cal. Col.* 1689–92, No. 1,756, i).

[2] *Ibid.* Introduction (by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue), p. xxxiii.

[3] Cf. the younger Codrington's reforms, Chapter VI, pp. 121–4, below.

finger on one of the fundamental, though perhaps inevitable, weaknesses of all the sugar islands—the elimination of the small holder. To avoid this danger he suggested that one-fourth of St. Kitts should be divided into allotments of twenty acres each, with safeguards to prevent their concentration into large estates. Even more significant were his proposals with regard to revenue. So long as the King's executive was financially dependent upon the local legislature efficient government was impossible. His remedy was to impose a series of graded quit-rents, which, without being burdensome, would bring in £3,000 annually, a sum sufficient to pay salaries and contingent governmental expenses.

But by far the most interesting of his proposals were those for 'the encouragement of God's service and the promotion of works of charity and piety', which were later developed by the younger Codrington, when making his munificent bequests for educational purposes in Barbados and at All Souls, Oxford. Employing the same idea of endowment, he suggested that certain buildings and plantations should be set aside and the income used for the founding of a free school, where English, French, Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, and navigation should be taught, and a hospital for sick or wounded soldiers, strangers, and others who could not support themselves. Although it may be doubted whether some of the provisions would have been workable considering the temperament and outlook of the seventeenth-century planter, the whole document reveals the author as a far-seeing statesman and social reformer.[1]

Meantime, the year 1692 had been a lull in the storm

[1] In the spring of 1696 his persistent pleading won the desired permission and he proceeded with the settlement of the island forthwith. It was, however, a bitter blow when the Government decided to hand back the French portion of St. Kitts to its former owners under the Treaty of Ryswick. His projected social and constitutional reforms also fell to the ground.

of war so far as the Leeward Islands were concerned. After the disaster of Guadeloupe the planters were too weak for any action save that of quarrelling among themselves and with their Governor. All were waiting in high expectation for the arrival of Sir Francis Wheler and his great armament which was intended to expel the French from the West Indies and Canada. In September the long-expected intimation that Wheler was about to make his appearance reached the Leeward Islands. Codrington immediately sailed to each island and persuaded the Assemblies to join the King's forces with their utmost strength, he himself issuing commissions and press-warrants for transport-ships and provisions. All was quickly ready; yet months passed by without sight of the fleet. It was not until the 6th of March 1693 that Codrington received word of Wheler's arrival at Barbados. This long delay, which was chiefly occasioned by the inefficiency and departmental jealousy of the officials at Whitehall, was in the end to prove fatal to one of the most powerful expeditions ever sent to the West Indies. It is a notable testimony to the implicit confidence placed in Codrington that, when the planters were mustered for embarkation, they stoutly refused to serve under any other commander but their own Governor-General. Threats and pleading proving equally useless, he at last agreed to go with them as a private officer, a promise which not only satisfied the troops but secured fifty additional recruits. On the 2nd of April the Leeward forces, numbering between eight hundred and a thousand men, set sail to join the expedition at Martinique. The failure of that attempt and Wheler's subsequent misfortunes in North America will be related in a later chapter, for they concern the younger Codrington as well as his father. It must here suffice to remark that Sir Francis Wheler specially commended Codrington's gallantry and public spirit during the operations.

With the departure of Wheler's powerful but ill-fated expedition, the Leeward Islands ceased to be the centre of military and naval action for the rest of the war. The loss and recapture of St. Kitts, the attack on Guadeloupe in 1691 and on Martinique in 1693, and the frequent recurrence of epidemics had exhausted the energy and resources and seriously thinned the numbers of the planters. Furthermore, the English Government, being on the verge of bankruptcy, found it increasingly difficult to afford naval protection. Consequently the years 1693 to 1697, though unmarked by great enterprises or decisive engagements, were for Codrington a time of continuous anxiety. During this period he was chiefly occupied in travelling from island to island encouraging and supervising the planters in mending old fortifications and building new ones. His dispatches, too, are full of urgent requests for soldiers, provisions, and above all ships. As time went on and the harassed Government sent no aid, the position grew steadily worse. In six months the French captured no less than thirty vessels bound to the Leeward Islands from England and Ireland, and the regiment of regulars, without pay and almost naked, were on the verge of mutiny. Not until September 1696 was Codrington able to report that the arrival of clothes and definite arrangements regarding pay had 'altered the face of the soldiers to a cheerful countenance'; and it was November of that year before the Council of Trade at last promised that two ships-of-war would be regularly posted to the Leeward Islands.

Up to this point Codrington's strenuous career is impressive. For seven perilous years he had been a tower of strength in one of the most isolated and difficult outposts of the Empire. During that time he had shown himself to be an efficient administrator, a fearless reformer, and a first-rate general. Unfortunately there was another side of his character, which was now

dragged into the light to the detriment of an otherwise honourable reputation. As usually happened in the West Indies the trouble arose from a private feud—in this case between two planters named Edward Walrond and John Palmer. In 1696 the quarrel culminated with a charge of high treason being brought by Walrond against his enemy. After examining the case, Codrington and the Nevis Council agreed that Palmer had been guilty of a grave misdemeanour and ought to be suspended from office, but refused to take any action until directed by the Council of Trade. Taking the decision as a personal insult, Walrond became furiously angry and determined to make Codrington smart for it.

The opportunity which he sought was not long in presenting itself. In April 1697 Captain Robert Arthur, an intrepid but unprincipled seaman who had been cashiered from the Navy for embezzling stores, was committed for trial on a charge of using treasonable language against King William. Rightly or wrongly this man was regarded as being Codrington's chief agent in conducting illegal trade with the French and Dutch. When, therefore, the trial fell through, owing to the Governor's failure to ensure the presence in court of three sailors of H.M.S. *Jersey*, who were the principal witnesses, Walrond was able to charge Codrington with having deliberately defeated the ends of justice, because he was afraid to prosecute a man who knew too many dangerous secrets about him. At this point Codrington made a false step. Hearing that Walrond was about to take his accusations to England, he determined to prevent his departure at all costs. On the 27th of July Walrond was summoned before the Governor and Council of Antigua for defaming the Governor's character, and on repeating his accusations was arrested until he deposited £500 as security to answer a charge of libel at the next session, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour. His name was also struck off the

roll of magistrates. It is noteworthy that neither the Council nor Assembly would have anything to do with Walrond, but publicly affirmed their affection and confidence in Codrington. Nevertheless his counter-attack had been both unjust and unwise. It failed to silence Walrond, who sacrificed his surety and fled to Barbados, where he continued to collect fresh evidence. And secondly, it deepened his anger into a consuming hatred which would be content with nothing less than Codrington's utter disgrace. Within a week he had dispatched a formal indictment with sworn depositions to the Earl of Bridgewater.

In reply Codrington penned a vigorous and incisive defence, tackling the accusations point by point. On the whole he disproved many of the minor charges brought against him, and by revealing his accuser's motives gave him a severe shaking. None the less, treason is a capital crime, and he failed to show that he had taken sufficient care to ensure that Captain Arthur should have an adequate trial. If, however, Walrond had failed to find any further ammunition for his attack, probably nothing more would have been heard of the business. Unfortunately for Codrington, his enemy was preparing a more powerful and damaging weapon. Evidence had been procured to show that His Majesty's Governor-General was guilty of trading with the enemy. From Barbados and from London (where he arrived in the spring of 1698), Walrond inundated the Council of Trade with memorials and voluminous depositions, stating that Codrington for many years had been in the habit of selling his sugar to the Dutch of Curaçoa and the Danes of St. Thomas, thus contravening the Navigation Acts—and, worse still, that he had participated in the use of 'flags of truce'[1]

[1] The term 'flag of truce' denoted a ship sent from one belligerent to another for the exchange of prisoners. Under cover of this arrangement the North African colonists supplied the French in Canada and

for trading with the French. To break the Acts of Trade by doing business with neutrals was bad enough, but to strengthen the enemy in time of war for personal profit was a much heavier charge.

On the whole, two conclusions seem to emerge from the welter of obvious falsehoods, spiteful trivialities, and probably true statements. On the one hand, Codrington was almost certainly guilty of breaking the Navigation Acts and trading with the enemy for the sake of increased profits. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the majority of the planters were even more deeply implicated, and that no one dreamed of saying a word about Codrington's part in the business until personal animus incited a few of them to employ this very useful weapon.

Even now he might have escaped censure (for it was difficult to produce legal proof of anything worse than negligence), had not his explosive temperament led him to commit a further act of oppression. A wretched creature named John Lucas was discovered to have been the author of an anonymous letter defaming Codrington to Admiral Nevill. Furious at the underhand nature of the attack, Codrington had him arrested when about to go on board ship for England and haled him before the Antigua Council, where he was obliged to enter into £5,000 bail to be of good behaviour and to answer a charge of libel at the next sessions. When his son-in-law, Austin, who was thought to have inscribed the offending letter, was found to be missing, soldiers searched the house, even looking into Lucas's bed—'such a piece of immodesty as a gentleman cannot endure'.[1] Finally,

the West Indies with provisions during the Seven Years' War to such an extent that the policy of the Mother Country was thwarted and the war considerably prolonged. Cf. G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754–65* (New York, 1922), Chapter VI.

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1696–7, No. 605, ii. In the middle of the proceedings before the Antigua Council, Lucas had suddenly left the room without

when it became clear that Austin had made good his escape, Lucas was thrown into the common jail until he produced him. As soon as these proceedings began, the accused sent off a series of lamentations to Lord Lucas, his powerful relative in London, who handed them over to Walrond. On the 29th of June 1698 the latter formally submitted his new complaint on Lucas's behalf. Ten days later he was rewarded with the dispatch of a stiff letter from the Council of Trade to Codrington, ordering him to desist from the demand of £5,000 bail and to let Lucas come home as soon as he had given his bond for £500 to answer all charges.

After a delay of ten months, which reduced the impatient Walrond to a condition bordering on frenzy,[1] the Council of Trade on the 12th of September at last pronounced judgement. Their verdict was an admirably balanced statement which reflected great credit upon the members. The task, it was stated, had been an onerous one, because Walrond had perplexed the matter by intermitting such a confusion of information that it was difficult to make any report. After analysing the case for the prosecution and for the defence they pronounced their considered conclusion. 'Upon the whole we think the words spoken by Robert Arthur were highly criminal, that Mr. Walrond was in great fault for concealing them at first, and that the justices entrusted with the trial were guilty of some neglect,

permission and shortly afterwards appeared to demand a warrant against Captain Julius of H.M.S. *Colchester* (a supporter of Codrington's) for assaulting him in the street. This was too much for Codrington, who threatened to break his head, calling him villain and rascal.

[1] On 16 August he had written a furious protest which concluded with, 'Governor Codrington has reached to that pitch of injustice, that if all the ill practices of the Governors of the West Indies since their first settlement were summed up together they would not be tantamount to his' (*Cal. Col.*, 1696–7, No. 741). It is the language of a man obsessed with a consuming and unsatisfied hatred.

but none of these things excuse Governor Codrington for omitting to do many things which his duty required of him.' Furthermore the proceedings against both Walrond and Lucas had been unwarrantable and must be stayed forthwith. On the other hand, the charges relating to illegal trade were ignored, and Lucas's request for a commission to take evidence against the Governor in the islands was refused. 'Looking to the passion on one side, the authority on the other, and the animosities on both, we do not think that we should obtain an impartial account.'[1] Obviously the Council was under no delusion as to the hot-headed nature of the West Indian planter and clearly realized that Walrond had been actuated by motives of private revenge and not by public spirit. But neither these considerations nor the magnificence of Codrington's war service could blind them to the fact that he had stooped to acts of tyranny and oppression, and they had reluctantly pronounced judgement accordingly.

To Walrond it was but a left-handed victory. The verdict had seriously shaken his enemy's reputation, but nothing less than utter ruin would satisfy him. Without delay he was preparing to lay his complaints before the House of Commons when all proceedings were suddenly stayed.[2] A week after issuing their report, the Council of Trade was informed that Codrington had been dead for two months, having breathed his last on the 20th of July in the fifty-eighth year of his age.[3]

The career of Christopher Codrington the elder is one of the most interesting and important in the history

[1] Council of Trade and Plantations to the Lords Justices of England, 13 July 1698 (*ibid.*, No. 817).

[2] See Hutcheson to William Popple, 14 September 1698 (*ibid.*, No. 824).

[3] Journal of the Council of Trade, 19 September (*ibid.*, No. 830, cf. Nos. 692, 834).

of colonial administration during the seventeenth century. His tenure of office as Governor-General practically coincided with King William's war against France, and thus presents an aspect of that struggle which has been somewhat neglected. Between 1689 and 1783 the Empire was subjected to the fiery test of an almost continuous combat for existence. Under the strain of that ordeal inherent constitutional and economic defects in the old colonial system gradually assumed a glaring prominence. In the West Indies during the last decade of the seventeenth century the early stages of that process are clearly visible. For this reason the history of the island colonies at this time is vitally important if the evolution of the British colonial policy is to be understood.

Furthermore, the personality of the elder Codrington is worth knowing for its own sake and for the light which it throws upon the character and career of the son who succeeded him. The present writer will have done him scant justice if something, at any rate, of his rugged vigour has not emerged in these pages. He was always and above all things a planter. From his youth up he had lived in the tropics, where the planter became as choleric as the proverbial colonel out East, impatient of opposition or restraint, and given to violence and intrigue. Codrington possessed something of all these traits. His indulgence in illegal trade at the Leeward Islands was not a sudden fall to which he had been tempted by the enormous power which his official position conferred. He and his brother John had been notorious for it seventeen years before in Barbados.[1] Almost every planter defied the existing economic system when he could, ignoring the monopoly of the Royal African Company by buying cheap negroes from interlopers, and breaking the Navigation Acts by selling

[1] See Letter to the Royal African Company from their Factors in Barbados, 30 May 1681, *Cal. Col.*, 1681–5, No. 306.

his sugar to foreigners. As Codrington's genius for business gradually made him the richest planter in the British islands, the profits to be gained by these practices increased proportionately. It was no more and no less excusable in him than for the parson's wife in England to deck herself with contraband lace or the squire to fill his cellars on moonless nights with smuggled brandy. It is in his acts of oppression and tyranny, though committed under deep provocation, that the real flaw in his character is revealed. Combining, as he did, the position of a great commercial magnate with that of governor-general, the exercise of almost unlimited authority over a turbulent community turned his head. Despite the obvious venom, there is a ring of truth in such epithets as 'this high and mighty sultan', 'this Divus Augustus', that his enemy hurled against him.[1] On the other hand, it is equally clear that he reserved his arbitrary behaviour for enemies who attacked him and for officials who inconveniently adhered to a strict interpretation of the law. West Indian planters were the last people in the world to sit down quietly under tyranny and injustice. The Council and Assembly of every island in his Government backed him strongly throughout and referred to him in terms of affection when he died. In a word, it was an autocracy by consent. His fine qualities of leadership and courageous endurance are sufficiently clear. On assuming command, his energy and firmness had quickly restored such confidence that a panic-stricken mob was transformed into a victorious army.[2]

[1] See *Cal. Col.*, 1687–8, Nos. 431 and 431, xi, respectively.

[2] The Hon. J. W. Fortescue mars an otherwise admirable summary of Codrington's character and career by the following remark: 'Happily this miserable story has been forgotten and Christopher Codrington is remembered only by the library at All Souls College, Oxford, and the Theological College which bears his name at Barbados' (*Cal. Col.*, 1697–8, Introd., p. xxxi). These benefactions were of course the work of his son, the younger Christopher (see Will, App. A, below).

So he stands then, at one time raising his cane and threatening to break John Lucas's head; at another and a finer moment leading his men up the craggy slopes of Guadeloupe or laboriously at work in his study, pleading for help and advocating reforms for the benefit of the people whose sterling qualities and irritating weaknesses he knew so well.

III

EARLY DAYS (1668–85)

CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON, the third of that name, was born in the parish of St. John, Barbados, in 1668. The child's environment in these early receptive years was picturesque and stimulating. The home of the Codringtons, which stands to-day substantially the same as then,[1] was a spacious mansion built of stone, with a high shingled roof, massive doors, and panelling made from wood of the primeval forest. Around the house was a garden shaded with palmetto, cocoa-nut, and palm-trees; and farther afield the long green spiky rows of sugar-canes, interspersed with stone-built windmills, boiling-houses, stills, and little wooden shanties where the slaves slept.[2] And lastly, below and beyond, Consett's Bay, the coral reef, and the limitless waste of the ocean. Here in his father's plantations of Consett and Didmarton (named after the manor in Gloucestershire) the little boy would roam at will, watching the giant rollers as they crushed the rich brown syrup from the canes, or in the boiling-house where negroes skimmed the bubbling vats. And on occasions long remembered, his parents would take him with them on a visit to a neighbouring planter, or

[1] On 25 April 1926 Codrington College was destroyed by fire. Fortunately the old family mansion which had been converted into the Principal's Lodgings escaped.

[2] Cf. the following inventory of the Codrington plantations. Christopher Codrington did 'bargaine, sell, farme, lett, all his 2 Plantations with their purtenances . . . next each other and containing 750 acres; together with 3 windmills of stone, a large boyling house with 17 coppers, a still house with 4 large stills, etc. on Dedmartens; and the dwelling house on Consetts, 250 negroes, men, women, boys, girls, 20 children, 1 pott worke, 1 sloop with tackling, all horses and horned beasts etc. . . .' (Close Roll, 11 William III, quoted by V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. ii, p. 153).

to see the sights of Bridgetown and the vessels come from Massachusetts, Carolina, and mighty London.

A tropical plantation is not an ideal environment for a child, especially if he be high-spirited. As soon as Christopher could speak, he was to some extent in a position to command. In the house and on the plantation the negroes did his bidding. Among the whites too he was in a privileged position as the son of the Deputy-Governor of the Island. Afterwards, in England, he was surrounded by the same atmosphere of admiring deference, called forth by his charm and versatility. Codrington of All Souls became a name beloved alike in the Oxford Common Rooms, the Bow Street coffee-houses, and on the battle-field. So early and so continued a pre-eminence bred in him a certain arrogance and contempt for men less gifted than himself. Being very much his father's son, he was by nature masterful and passionate. It was, therefore, particularly unfortunate that the inborn characteristic should have been accentuated by his environment. Subsequently this defect of his was the cause of much suffering and humiliation. Distressful days befell him, days of calumny, persecution, and defeat. The ordeal made physical shipwreck of him, so that he died a broken man at the age of forty-two. But it mellowed his character into something finer and greater than before.

His boyhood in the island of Barbados was spent in stirring times. During the first twelve impressionable years he was in contact with the forceful personality of his father. The relations between the two seem to have been particularly happy. In later years the younger Christopher bitterly resented the attacks made upon his father and always referred to him in terms of deep affection; though doubtless in the early days the tempestuous parent was regarded with something akin to awe.

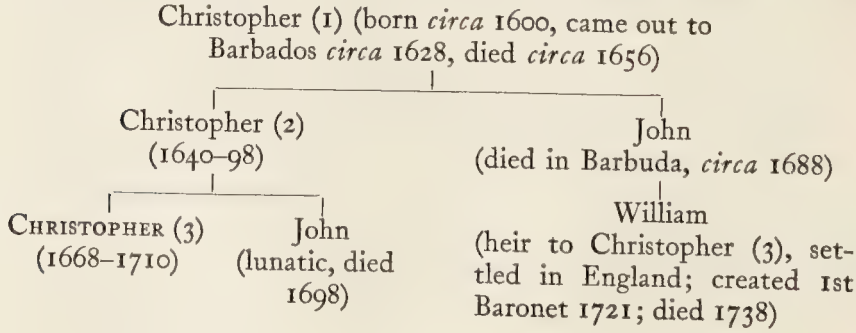
As time passed the amenities of the nursery gave

place to the discipline of a tutor. 'The first seeds of his education', we are told, 'were Planted in this Island.'[1] As regular schools were virtually unknown in Barbados at that period, it seems very probable that he received this instruction from the Rector of St. John's who lived close by. Of his mother, Gertrude Codrington, we know nothing save the name.[2] A great sorrow came to her at the birth of her second boy, John, who was weak-minded. The keen acquisitive nature of Christopher must have been in striking, and in some ways painful, contrast to that of his unfortunate brother.[3] In listening then to his mother's tales of bygone Codringtons, in learning Latin conjugations and Greek paradigms, and in playing with other planters' sons on the coral beach of Consett's Bay, he passed the first twelve years or so of his life. Thirty years after he was to come back—a broken man—to the silent house where he had romped and fought, to the palm-groves and the green cane-rows and the eternal roar of the ocean,

[1] Gordon, *Funeral Sermon* (London, 1710).

[2] *Memoir of the Codringtons of Codrington* (*ut supra*), p. 126.

[3] The father's will, dated 15 July 1698, contains the following clauses: 'To my son John Codrington £200 a year . . . his brother Christopher to be mindful and careful of him, considering the infirmity that God Almighty hath been pleased to afflict him with. . . . To my overseer Nathl. Gilbert and his wife £10 apiece for mourning. . . . All residue to my son Christ. he to be sole Executor, & if he die s.p. to my son John, a lunatic, £500 a year' (V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. ii, p. 150). The relationship between the various members of the family was as follows:


Christopher (1) (born *circa* 1600, came out to Barbados *circa* 1628, died *circa* 1656)
Christopher (2) (1640–98)
John (died in Barbuda, *circa* 1688)
Christopher (3) (1668–1710)
John (lunatic, died 1698)
William (heir to Christopher (3), settled in England; created 1st Baronet 1721; died 1738)

there to forget the dusty arena in the cool realm of thought.

A day came when Gertrude and Christopher Codrington decided that the time was come to send their boy to England to be educated. One of the inevitable penalties of a world-wide empire is this necessity of parting from children to send them to the climate and institutions of the Home Country. 'As soon as He was of age to undertake the Hardship of a Voyage, he was sent to England . . . at a very good Private School.' [1]

So one day they carried him down to Bridgetown, and watched the great bark as she caught the breeze and rounded the headland for England.

Six weeks of wearisome tossing and young Christopher was at his journey's end, either at Bristol or London. If at Bristol, he was only a twelve miles' ride from the hamlets of Tormarton, Didmarton, and Dodington ruled by his kinsmen. Whether he went there immediately, it is, of course, impossible to say. But it is almost certain that the lad was looked after by that same Robert Codrington of Didmarton who soon afterwards endeavoured to gain the governorship of Barbados for the father.[2] Rich, prosperous, and about thirty years of age, Robert was the very man to act as guardian to a young kinsmen. Another cousin was Samuel Codrington, owner of Dodington Park, which Christopher in after years purchased from him. Thus in all probability many holidays were spent among the woods and wolds of Gloucestershire.

For schooling he was sent, as already noted, to 'a very good Private School', that of Dr. Wedale at

[1] Gordon (*ut supra*), p. 20.

[2] Codrington MSS. B (notes on the family of Codrington, vol. ii, p. 6). Robert, on 21 April 1674, married Agnes Samwell, by whom he had no less than fifteen children. Eventually he sold Didmarton to his neighbour, the Duke of Beaufort. He died in 1717 at the age of 68 (*ibid.*).

Enfield near London. There the swift mind which afterwards won universal applause seems to have gained many successes. So much can be gathered even in the lines of an angry and bitter satirist of twenty years later.

> By Nature Small, and of a Dwarfish Breed,[1]
> *Peevish* was sent to School, to Write and Read;
> Where brib'd by Gifts the Pedagogick Don
> Abus'd the Father, and Deceiv'd the Son;
> As for a fresh Reward he prais'd his Child,
> And grasp'd one's Sugar, as he t'other spoiled.
> Thence, swol'n with Figures, and possess'd with Tropes,
> On *Isis* he bestow'd his Parents Hopes.[2]

So passed about six years amid a round of novel experiences, which stimulated the mind, developed the character, and fashioned a raw boy into a young man. On the 3rd of July, 1685, at the age of seventeen, Christopher Codrington matriculated as a gentleman-commoner of Christ Church in the University of Oxford.[3]

[1] From subsequent references (cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, p. 446) it appears that while Codrington was of slender build, he was rather tall than short.

[2] 'A Short and True History of a certain Captain-General' (*Discommendatory Verses* . . ., by Sir Richard Blackmore, London, 1700).

[3] See *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1784), vol. iii, p. 672.

IV

OXFORD (1685–94)

THE period during which Christopher Codrington was in residence as a gentleman-commoner of Christ Church was one of the most momentous phases in the history of the University, and indeed of all England. To the rage of disillusioned James, royalist Oxford gradually forsook the Stuart kingship for the defence of its *libertas*. In so doing it crystallized and inspired the opposition of the nation. James nevertheless continued his arbitrary way, heedless of this most significant warning and of the truth, thus illustrated, that the most ardent Tory placed his Church before his King.

Three days after Codrington matriculated all Oxford was in a hubbub. Dusty horsemen from the West galloped down 'the High' with news of Sedgemoor. Feversham was chasing the Somerset peasants, and fugitive Monmouth was being hunted like a fox towards the Bristol Channel. Oxford, boisterously loyal, betook itself to merriment and jubilation: 'town' and 'gown' jostled each other in high good humour in the crowded streets; bonfires were lit in the quads. Nor had the University been lacking in the way of active support. When news had come of the rising, that brave old royalist Dr. Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, had called the undergraduates to arms for the King, and great numbers had volunteered, enthusiastic for an adventure so much to their liking. A troop of horse and a regiment of foot were raised under Lord Abingdon, the Tory Lord-Lieutenant, of which nearly a hundred pikemen and musketeers were supplied by Christ Church alone. Daily drill took place in Christ Church Meadows until

the 8th of July (two days after Sedgemoor), when the Company of Captain Finch of All Souls was ordered to Islip to guard the London road. On the 10th, when all was over, young Codrington would watch them as they marched back into Oxford. The whole force was immediately disbanded to the accompaniment of further jollity. The gallant 'scholars', we are told, were invited by Lord Abingdon to dine with him at Ricot, whence they 'came home well fuz'd'.[1]

Codrington thus began his university career in an atmosphere of ardent loyalism. It had long been the custom among gownsmen to make the Stuart name an excuse for venting their spleen against Puritan and Commonwealth principles, the health of Charles and then of James being drunk by noisy topers kneeling. The triumph of Sedgemoor intensified this sentiment. Unfortunately it also turned James's head and spurred him to destruction. Oxford, famous for its support of the monarchy, would be at once the most powerful and most malleable of weapons in the great task of transforming the English constitution into a politico-religious autocracy. The first warning of the impending storm was given when Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, proclaimed his adherence to the Roman Church, and received a royal 'dispensation', not only to retain his office, but also to establish Romanist services in the College Chapel. In 1686 the attack began in real earnest by the appointment of the Roman Catholic, John Massey, a worthless reprobate, to the vacant Deanery of Christ Church. There, too, in the cathedral the mass was daily celebrated.

These acts, the spear-head of a general onslaught upon the national institutions, aroused a spirit of anger and exasperation in Oxford which has been graphically

[1] The above account is based on Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls* (London, 1874), pp. 297–8; Macaulay, *History of England* (1849 edition), vol. ii, pp. 589–60.

portrayed by Macaulay. In their rooms, in the streets, at the theatre, noisy and indignant groups expressed their contempt for Obadiah and all such renegades. Christ Church was in covert rebellion against its Dean. Indeed so mutinous had the University become that in 1687 the Second Dragoon Guards were quartered in the town to prevent an outbreak—in Oxford, the home of high Toryism. The crowning blunder was James's attempt to force the Magdalen Fellows to elect Anthony Farmer, a pretended convert to Popery, and a wretch devoid of morals or shame, to be their President. Upon refusal they were evicted. The King's visit to Oxford during this critical year of 1687, and his lodging at Christ Church where he interviewed and browbeat the recalcitrant Magdalen men, is common knowledge. His anger at Oxford's 'treachery', and his obvious determination to proceed to any length to gain his end, must have shaken the loyalty of many of his remaining supporters.

The attitude of young Codrington during this stirring time was in complete contrast to that of his friends. Being young, and of an ancient stock which had valiantly served its kings for many centuries, he regarded fervent loyalty to King James as a matter of course. And when university opinion began to turn against the King, he refused to change. Very soon he found himself in a minority. Both dons and undergraduates were against him. The famous Dr. Smalridge, who was probably Codrington's tutor,[1] published in 1687 a strongly worded attack upon a pamphlet by the Romanist Obadiah Walker. Equally gifted and equally hostile to the Papists was Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, who was tutor to the Honourable Charles Boyle. Atterbury followed up Smalridge's

[1] Codrington left a legacy of £100 to Dr. Smalridge (see Will, printed App. A, p. 219, below). See Steele's character of Smalridge in *The Tatler*, No. 72 (24 September 1709).

onslaught by writing a defence of Luther's tenets.[1] Furthermore, Codrington's daily companions were altering their attitude. At this period 'the House' was celebrated as a 'Nursery of humorists'. To be acknowledged as one of the 'Christ Church Wits' was in those days no small matter. Into this brilliant and exclusive circle Codrington seems to have been admitted at an early stage in his university career. In after years, when he became one of the acknowledged leaders of literary society in London, we find his name linked with many names of the old Christ Church coterie, such as Mainwaring, Thomas Brown, and Arthur Henley. On the appointment of the Papist Massey as Dean, these wits gathered together in each other's rooms to hold indignation meetings, where doubtless the output of bad theology was almost as great as the consumption of good liquor. Under such inspiration the young littérateurs poured out their scorn and contempt of the King's minions in satirical ballads and rhymes which they sang with gusto below their enemies' windows.[2] When, therefore, Codrington hailed the birth of 'the Pretender' in June 1688 with an extravagant effusion in verse, he was voicing sentiments directly opposed to those of his friends. The poem itself is interesting as a statement of opinion, though no one would venture to call it either polished or inspired.[3]

[1] *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester*, ed. F. Williams (London, 1869), pp. 19, 40–3.

[2] Atterbury's *Memoirs* (*ut supra*), pp. 19–20.

[3] See the poem (entitled *In Natalem Sereniss: Principis Walliae*), printed below, App. B, pp. 221–5. The fact that Codrington had written this poem was brought against him in later years:

(Codrington) H'had scarce put on the Tufted-Gown,
And wildly viewed the Colleges and Town,
But Fortune, who no time would let him lose,
Gave him a Royal Infant for his Muse;
And Him he sung with Whimsies in his Brains,
Praising a borrow'd Prince, with borrow'd Strains.

(*Discommendatory Verses*, Blackmore, London, 1700. See App. B, pp. 232–3, below).

In one verse he bitterly attacks the current slander that the child was a changeling:

> Ere the warm God with amorous light
> The Infants lovely Eyes had kist,
> The Serpents too the Tydings heard,
> They Heard and straightway were accurst.
> With all their venomous tongues they hist,
> They flung, they grin'd, they rag'd for spight,
> In vain they rag'd, they spouted Fire in vain,
> The Poison they receive again,
> And with Black Blood and Envy swel'd, in thousand pieces burst.

When, however, James fled the kingdom, the young enthusiast accepted the Revolution settlement and became a loyal and devoted adherent of William of Orange.

Save in an exceptional crisis, politics was an arena into which Codrington showed little disposition to enter. His volatile mind was always too busy in probing other and more attractive avenues of experience. Indeed, his career astonished his contemporaries not merely by its swiftness in achievement but also by its extraordinary diversity. No sooner did he achieve distinction in one field than he was off in enthusiastic pursuit of something quite different. Nor did he forsake the one for the other: the process was accumulative. He wrote home discussing Locke's philosophy while leading armies and wrangling with assemblies in the West Indies. His whole life was swift, short, kaleidoscopic, and brilliant. Diffusion of energy, however, brings its own penalty. He was famous as a scholar and wit; yet he has left nothing of solid achievement in either scholarship or literature. He was a skilful and courageous soldier, a born leader of men, who caught the eye of William of Orange and gained high promotion; yet no one would place him among the famous commanders of the age. Nevertheless, it may

be questioned whether a specialist, who burrows all his life along a narrow groove, in the end contributes more to human progress than the man, who by the breadth and sweep of his intellectual sympathies insensibly broadens his neighbours' outlook.

This universality of interest is particularly marked during his Oxford career. The time had come to talk, and taste, of many things. 'No spark had walk'd up High Street bolder', says Blackmore with a grin. Rich, handsome, and possessed of a lively tongue, 'the dapper Squire' had no lack of boon companions. Whatever was afoot—a new device for ragging the Master of University, the writing of a topical poem, or a debate among the wits—Codrington was to the fore. It happened, for example, that a certain riding-master conceived the notion of making a livelihood by coming to Oxford to teach the young gentlemen to ride the Great Horse.[1] Such athletic accomplishments were out of fashion at the time. Old Oxonians after their manner thought with regret of the hardy days that were gone. 'For my own part', wrote Dr. Wallis, 'I should be glad to see *manly* exercises come again into fashion. . . . But the present gallantry seems to look another way. The *beaux* of this age are for greater softness; to *dress* well, to *perfume*, to *powder* a long periwig, and (instead of riding the great horse) to pass in a coach (or rather a *chair*) from one good house to another, riding on horseback being now thought too troublesome.' Hunting and hawking are in a great measure neglected: our new gallants find it too fatiguing. 'The present humour of gallantry', he adds with a sigh, 'must change before those days return again.'[2] Yet with youthful enthusiasm

[1] This accomplishment consisted in riding and manœuvring a powerful war-horse in conformity with certain rules.

[2] Letter of Dr. Wallis (November 1700) concerning the suggested foundation of an academy at Oxford for riding the Great Horse (*Collectanea*, i, part 6, p. 319, ed. C. R. L. Fletcher, Oxford Hist. Soc., 1885).

Codrington endeavoured to start a new 'movement' in the University to revive equestrian exercise. He took the man up, practically maintained him at his own expense, and received lessons from him in this accomplishment, 'wherein', we are told, 'he was thought so good a proficient, as to be accounted one of the best at that exercise of any in England'. Unfortunately his friends were not so enthusiastic about the new sport. 'After some years (being maintained mostly by Colonel *Codrington*) this riding master went hence, finding little or no encouragement, or any desirous to learn.'[1]

Dancing, too, at certain public rooms with damsels from the town (a feature not unknown in modern Oxford) was another favourite pastime. 'The same Colonel, beside his skil in the *great horse*, is expert in *dancing* allso to a high degree; both which accomplishments,' adds Dr. Wallis with proper pride, 'he learned at Oxford.'[2] But when the lady had been escorted home and friends had trooped away noisily down the stairs across the silent quad, then the room filled with other beings, alive in the pages of poets and dramatists from France and Spain and the cities of Italy. To Codrington, like many another before him and after,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* Cf. the following extract from a dramatic poem which was acted by Codrington and five other Christ Church men:

Stradling. Haud procul hinc domus est, teneris quondam apta choreis
Qua pede festivo pueri, innuptaeque puellae
Exercere diem. *Codrington.* Quas Te (ad S) quoque vidimus inter.

(*Musarum anglicanarum Analecta*, London, 1692).

Cf. also the following remark: 'Nor was he less careful of those Politer Exercises and Accomplishments which might qualifie him to appear in the World, and at the nicest Courts, with Reputation and Advantage; in so much that he soon acquir'd the deserv'd Character of an accomplished Well-bred Gentleman, and an Universal Scholar' (W. Gordon, *Sermon*, London, 1710, p. 21).

the quiet hours while Oxford slept were not the least enjoyable.[1]

Among highly born young gentlemen who would be expected to assume a prominent place in social and political life, it was customary at this time to combine a university career with a course of legal study at one of the Inns of Court. In many cases their acquaintance with law seems to have been little more than a formality —an opportunity, in short, to cut a brave figure at the coffee-houses and the theatre. In accordance with the custom Codrington, on the 13th of July 1687, was admitted a member of the Middle Temple, while still keeping his terms at Oxford.[2] Of his doings there we know nothing, but one thing is at any rate certain. He gained the lasting friendship of many eminent lawyers of the day. To some of these—St. John Brodrick and William Estrick of the Temple, the Rev. Dr. Gastrel, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and Sir Nathaniel Lloyd of Doctors' Commons[3]—he afterwards bequeathed legacies of one hundred guineas. Contact with men of this type would necessarily sharpen and discipline his own mind. Moreover, the legal knowledge which he picked up must have been invaluable in after years when he undertook the difficult task of reorganizing the judicature of the Leeward Islands.

Meanwhile at Oxford the foundations of solid scholarship were being laid. Christ Church at this period was the home of a group of intellectual giants, who were leading the University in a great movement

[1] 'He learned allso at Oxford the French, Spanish and Italian languages. I mention this onely to shew how well a man may be furnished with genteel accomplishment in our universities . . .' (*Collectanea, ut supra*).

[2] See J. Foster, *Inns of Court Register*, and J. Hutchinson, *A Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars*, London, 1902.

[3] Codrington may not, however, have met Lloyd until some three years later, when they were both elected Fellows of All Souls (cf. Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*, pp. 314, 388, 390, 393).

which was exciting international admiration. Great divines such as Smalridge, Wake, and Atterbury were there: the all-accomplished Aldrich, as Burrows aptly puts it, 'was composing glees and catches, building quadrangles and churches, and publishing manuals of logic, editions of the Classics, and sermons against Rome'.[1] There, too, John Locke had been, until dismissed in 1684 to humour Charles the Second. But his 'common-sense' philosophy had remained, exerting a potent influence, particularly upon Codrington, who afterwards had the privilege of knowing him personally. Throughout the University this spirit of renewed zeal was manifest. Anthony Wood, the famous antiquarian, was stirring up enthusiasm for historical research; and Dr. Charlett, who succeeded Walker as Master of University College, was inspiring a wide circle in many departments of literary activity. Both these men, as we shall see, became personal friends of Codrington. The stimulating effect of their combined influence is evidenced by the breadth and variety of his studies. The classics, philosophy, early church history, and contemporary European literature were all included.

In 1689 a dramatic satire entitled *Auctio Davisiana*[2] appeared, which throws considerable light upon Codrington's character and the academic circle with which he was connected. Although signed by Codrington and five other Christ Church men, it was probably written by their tutor, Dr. Smalridge, and acted by them as a kind of masque.[3] The poem celebrates the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 323. Henry Aldrich was elected a Canon of Christ Church in 1681, and quickly established a reputation both as a scholar and a teacher. He was a great friend of Atterbury, and was afterwards appointed Dean (cf. Atterbury's *Memoirs*, *ut supra*, p. 19).

[2] Printed in *Analecta Anglicanarum Musarum* (Oxford, 1689).

[3] Some months later a 'pirate' edition was published in London by Jacob Jonson, who in a preface addresses the reader as follows: 'These verses were designed at first for the entertainment of such only who

auction of the immense stock of Richard Davis, who was the largest bookseller and publisher of that period, not only in Oxford, but in the whole of England. The sale of books by auction had been unknown in this country until 1676, when William Cooper, a London bookseller, adopted the practice from Amsterdam and Leyden.[1] This convenient method of disseminating literature rapidly became very popular. Davis's collection, which reached the enormous total of 80,000 volumes, was disposed of by Cooper and Edward Millington in three sales which took place in April and October 1685, and in June 1688.[2] Considering the number of works thus dispersed, and the fact that these were the first sales to be held in an English university town, the event was an obvious subject for a topical poem. Edward Millington, the auctioneer and one-time friend of John Milton, was famous for the ready wit and the cunning wiles which he employed to raise the bidding. His skill in this direction is portrayed in the *Auctio Davisiana* along lines very similar to those of

were upon the place where the scene lay. The many private hints and relations to particular passages, will not suffer them to be throughly understood by any other sort of Reader. However allowance being made for this, and (the Author's modesty would have added) for other faults, it is hoped that they will not be unacceptable. The ingenious Gents concerned will excuse the Publisher for doing them Justice, though without their leave' (*Auctio Davisiana Oxonii habita*, London, 1689).

[1] See John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1898), Introd., p. xvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–8. Davis's bookshop must have been a frequent resort of Codrington's, being so close to his own lodgings in Christ Church. The situation of the shop is noted by a contemporary: 'Nixt morning I went and visited the booksellers shops. At last lighted upon on[e] almost foragainst Oriel College at the back of Christ Church, called him Mr Daves, who had a most rich & weill furnished shop . . .' (*Journals of Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, with his observations on public affairs and other Memoranda, 1665–76*, p. 169, ed. Donald Crawford, Edinburgh, Scottish Historical Society, 1900).

Thomas Brown's well-known elegy.[1] Each of Smalridge's pupils was allotted a part, wherein he is made to express his views of Oxford life and classical litera-

[1] An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Edward Millington, the famous Auctioneer.

Mourn, Mourn, you Booksellers, for cruel Death
Has robb'd the famous *Auctionier* of Breath:

. . . . . .

No more will he now at your Service stand
Behind the Desk, with Mallet in his Hand.
No more the Value of your Books set forth,
And sell 'em by his Art for twice their Worth.
Methinks I see him still with smiling Look
Amidst the Crowd, and in his Hand a Book,
Then in a fine facetious pleasing Way,
The Author's Genius and his Wit display.

. . . . . .

Come, Gentlemen, Come, bid me what you please;
Upon my word, it is a curious Piece,
Done by a learned Hand, and neatly bound:
What say you? Come, I'll put it up one Pound:
One Pound, once, twice? Fifteen. Who bids a Crown?
Then shakes his Head with an affected Frown;
Good-lack-aday, 'tis strange; then strikes a Blow,
And in a feigned Passion bids it go.

. . . . . .

Brown then reminds the painters with what skill Millington sold their pictures:

Come, put it in, a fine Original,
Done by a curious Hand: what *Strokes* are here
Drawn to the Life, how fine it does appear!
A lovely Piece, Ten Pound, Five Pound, for Shame;
You do not bid the Value of the Frame!
How many pretty Stories would he tell,
T'inhaunce the Price, and make the Picture sell.
But now he 's gone, Ah! the sad Loss deplore!
Great *Millington*, alas! he is no more.

. . . . . .

(*The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown*, London, 1730 (7th edition), vol. iv, pp. 322–4).

ture. Codrington was cast for the leading part, that of Millington himself,

Nam lepidum caput es, dicto et mordente facetus,

as one of his fellow actors is made to remark. But he protests. How can he imitate such noisy and mendacious loquacity?

Ast Ego (sic homo sum) mentiri nescio; Librum,
Si malus est, nequeo titulis onerare; . . .

Eventually he agrees, and endeavours to imitate the stentorian tones of Millington, while his companions warn him to be careful, 'lest by clamour over-done you break the ceiling'. Then the auction begins. Books are held up, criticized, and knocked down at varying sums to indicate the poet's contempt or admiration. An occasional remark here and there is instructive; though not of course to be taken too seriously. At one time Codrington exclaims, satirically, 'the value of a work lies not in its name; the crimson (of its binding) sells the book'. At another his championship of Locke's philosophy as against that of Hobbes is referred to. Codrington is offering a copy of the *Leviathan* for sale, and is shouting mock praises of its author. 'Here is one who dares the realms of Hell and thrusts Pluto himself from his throne in the deepest abyss and closes too the triple mouths of Cerberus.' Immediately a companion cuts him short:

Vos, quibus in coelum Pietas, et Numina cordi,
Improbus, O Pueri fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

And so the badinage continues. The books reviewed cover a wide field, including the works of Martial, Baxter, and Aesop's Fables! Finally, the poem concludes with a long oration by Codrington in the high-flown style attributed to Millington. The whole composition, in fact, portrays not only the auctioneer, but indirectly the character and opinions of the six undergraduates who were the actors.

In 1689 Codrington was singled out for the honour of a probationer-fellowship at All Souls, and was formally elected in the succeeding year.[1] It was fortunate for him and other men of brilliant promise that the corrupt practice of retiring Fellows selling their places to the highest bidder had been suppressed in 1681 after a hard struggle by Warden Jeames.[2] As soon as elections became free and by merit alone, the standard had gone up with a bound. The generation of newly elected Fellows, which included Codrington, contained also a succession of men of the highest ability such as Creech, Lloyd, and Tanner. As Burrows remarks, 'no other period of twenty years in the College history, except perhaps at the Renaissance and in the reign of Elizabeth, has anything to compare with it'.[3] No less distinguished was the list of senior Fellows, including as it did such names as Dr. George Clarke the celebrated jurist, Dr. Radcliffe the physician, and Matthew Tindal the deist. Surrounded by so stimulating an atmosphere Codrington developed rapidly both in intellect and character. The tribute of a personal friend in after years is worthy of notice on this point.

'And that he had his Education there [i.e. at All Souls] among so many Learned and Pious Men, as that Royal Colledge abounds with, whose names He frequently mention'd with peculiar Esteem and Veneration, He ever accounted one of the greatest Blessings of his Life. The Happy Opportunity, which Providence indulg'd Him, of being bred up in that fruitful Seminary of good Literature, He industriously improved to the storing of his Understanding with all sorts of Learning, with Logick, History, the Learned and Modern Languages, Poetry, Physick, and Divinity.'[4]

[1] *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1784), vol. iii, p. 672; *Letters from the Bodleian* (London, 1813), biographical notice; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

[2] See Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*, Chapters XIV and XV.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

[4] William Gordon, *Sermon* (London, 1710), p. 21.

It was probably during the first year or so of his residence in All Souls that Codrington established two notable friendships—with Joseph Addison and the Honourable Charles Boyle. Of the former we know virtually nothing save the fact of its existence: as regards the latter the outstanding details at any rate have come to light. Having entered Queen's College in 1687, Addison became a Demy of Magdalen in the same year that Codrington gained his Fellowship. The former was eighteen years of age and not yet famous: the illustrious productions which in large part moulded the literary form of the eighteenth century were still to be written. But the delight of his conversation and the shy wholesomeness of his character were enough in themselves to attract the affection of a man of Codrington's type.[1] To have Addison by your study fire o'nights was a privilege indeed. Conversely, the respect with which he regarded his friend is no small tribute to the latter. The degree of that admiration was amply illustrated seven years later when he sang the praises of Codrington, as scholar and warrior, in terms of the warmest eulogy.[2]

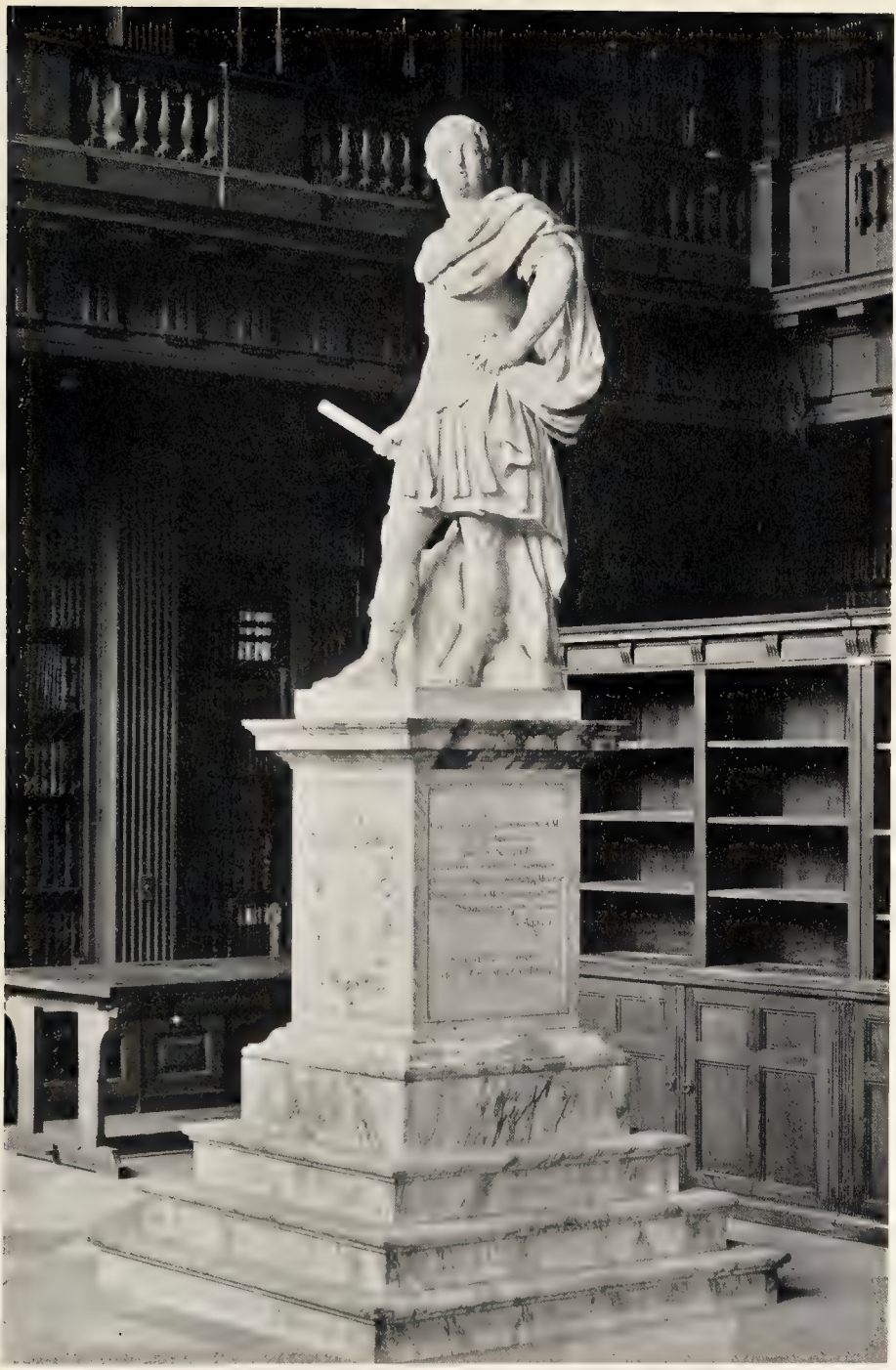
The Honourable Charles Boyle, afterwards fourth Earl of Orrery, was a character singularly akin to

[1] 'Addison's conversation', says Pope, 'had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or, perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence' (Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*). Through Addison, Codrington probably met Richard Steele, who at this time was a Postmaster of Merton College. In 1700 they wrote verses together against Sir Richard Blackmore, and in 1712 Tickell in his poem 'Oxford' links them together:

> Where Codrington and Steele their verse unrein,
> And form an easy unaffected strain.
> A double wreath of laurel binds their brow
> For they are poets and are warriors too.

Yet though acquaintances, they were never intimate friends.

[2] In his poem *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita* (1697). See App. B, p. 227, below.



STATUE OF CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON

in the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford

Codrington. Although without that iron quality which carried his friend farther and deeper, he shared his generosity, his polished demeanour, and particularly his taste in the field of letters. Both were young and brilliant; both had a real love for scholarship; both dabbled in poetry; and both were men of fashion. When in after years Codrington found himself in deep waters, with his honour at stake, Boyle loyally and nobly stood by him.[1] Born at Chelsea in 1676, he came up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1690, where the famous Atterbury became his tutor. 'Mr. Boyle takes up half my time,' the latter wrote, 'and I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman; and while I am with him I will do what I can to make him a man.'[2]

Indeed Atterbury and Smalridge together seem to have exerted a considerable influence upon him. Soon after coming up he became recognized as one of the 'Christ Church wits', in whose society he probably first made Codrington's acquaintance. In 1694 when Boyle, under the direction of Atterbury and Smalridge, began his famous literary battle with Bentley of Cambridge, Codrington and other Christ Church men lent him their aid.[3]

Meanwhile, occasional glimpses occur of Codrington's life as a Fellow of All Souls. There was opportunity for a life rich in culture and scholarship; and Codrington seems to have made the utmost possible use of it. Hard unremitting study, together with the friendship of such scholars as Anthony Wood and Dr. Charlett, developed the promising youth from Christ Church into a man of mature judgement and

[1] See his speech on behalf of Codrington in the House of Commons printed in App. B, pp. 237–8, below.

[2] Atterbury to his father, 14 October 1690 (*Memoirs, ut supra*, p. 40).

[3] Cf. D. E. Budgell, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles, Particularly of the Late Eminently Learned Charles, Earl of Orrery* (London, 1737); Atterbury's *Memoirs*, pp. 40–3; also article under name in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

learning. 'It was well known in the University', wrote Dr. Hudson, Bodley's Librarian, 'with what incredible zest and vigour you made the liberal arts your own, sparing no toil and leaving nothing unattempted in the cultivation of your mind, and how when you turned your attention to contests in poetry you carried off the laurel from all, just as in the subtleties of philosophy and mathematics the keenness of your insight stood pre-eminent.'[1] This is high praise, and somewhat suspect, written as it was in a dedication to a patron. Yet much the same judgement was passed, though more restrainedly, by other contemporaries.

Of his acquaintance with Anthony Wood only one short reference survives. Under the date 23rd of March 1692, the following entry appears in Wood's diary: 'Sir (James) Bliss told me that Thomas Browne the poet was writing a satyrical thing against me, my bile, and (Christo.) Codrington of All Souls told me by letter.'[2] The latter had known Brown well at Christ Church, and had evidently determined to warn the old gentleman of the impending onslaught.

Perhaps the greatest bond between these two was their common love of books and book-collecting, a hobby which Codrington pursued all his life and which ultimately yielded so rich a harvest to the benefit of All Souls and successive generations of Oxford scholars. Being the son of the wealthiest English planter in the Indies, he devoted much time and money to acquiring rare and valuable books from all over Europe. Even before he left Oxford the collection was famous in the University: in 1706 Hearne computed the number of volumes at 12,000, and their value at £6,000.[3] He

[1] J. Hudson, Dedication of his *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (Oxford, 1704) to Codrington (printed App. B, pp. 239–40, below).

[2] Andrew Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford, 1894), vol. iii, p. 385, Oxford Historical Society.

[3] Hearne's Letters (Bodleian); Rawlinson MS. J, vol. ii, f. 77. Cf.

himself, writing in 1702 after he had left England for ever, informed Dr. Charlett that he intended to continue his collection. 'And though it will not be so large as I at first intended, I hope to make it as curious as any private one in Europe, particularly in some sort of books which I believe are not known in Oxford. Mr. Cunningham is going into France, and from thence into Italy, and will miss nothing that is curious. If ever I return from the Indies I shall make that tour myself, and nothing shall escape me that is valuable in any way, though it is possible, considering my circumstances, that I may make very little use of them myself.'[1] Two years later Dr. Hudson of the Bodleian referred to the respect with which the outside world would regard him, 'when they have seen what has already been done through your generosity and liberality in the collecting of books, particularly those that are elegant and rare, and when they have understood all that was planned at your instigation to ensure that nothing should be lacking in the most ample encouragement of the study of *litterae humaniores*.'[2]

Love of letters was naturally accompanied by affection for littérateurs. 'He was so great a Lover of Learning', a friend observed, 'and Learned Men, that Wherever he met with an Ingenious Person, he courted

Hearne's MS. Diary, vol. 16, p. 212, where he gives a list of books 'in Coll. Coddrington's study', which includes editions of Justin dated 1476 (Milan) and 1505; Eutropius, 1521; Pliny's letters, 1518 and 1578 (Paris); and *Guilielmi de Savoia Nova Rhetorica*, 1480.

[1] Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), vol. 20, f. 58 (Codrington to Dr. Charlett, 25 June 1702 (?)). Printed in *Letters Written by Eminent Persons . . . from the Originals in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1813). It was probably about this time that Codrington settled an annuity upon this Mr. Alexander Cunningham—'not only for the great respect and friendship I have for that worthy Gent but by reason the annuity provided by the said Deed of Gift will be an assistance to him in the great and usefull Labours in wch. he Imploys himselfe for ye publick Benefit' (see Will, printed App. A, p. 219, below).

[2] Hudson, Dedication (*ut supra*).

his acquaintance, and readily received him into his Friendship.'[1] One who benefited much by such friendship was Thomas Creech, a competent scholar and a mediocre poet. He seems to have been an attractive but feckless character: one that always looked to a stronger nature for support. His career cannot but stir our pity, ending as it did with insanity and suicide. Elected a Fellow of All Souls in November 1683, he was considerably senior to Codrington. But the latter quickly became his trusted adviser, helping him to translate the elegies of Ovid into English verse,[2] to edit classical texts, and not least with pecuniary assistance. As a token of gratitude Creech in 1694 dedicated to Codrington his *Lucretius*, which remained the standard edition for many years.[3] You ask me, he

[1] Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[2] See Creech's translation of some of the elegies and of 'the Story of Lucretia' from Ovid's *De Fastis*, published in the *Annual Miscellany* (London, 1692, 1694, &c.). As several other friends of Codrington published similar verse translations in this collection, it may be that some of the anonymous pieces were his own work.

[3] See App. B, pp. 225–7, below. Matthew Prior in his poem *Alma, or the Progress of the Mind* (London, 1741) makes the following reference:

> Note here, *Lucretius* dares to teach
> (As all our Youth may learn from *Creech*).

Cf. the verdict of H. A. J. Munro, *Lucretius* (Cambridge, 1864, vol. ii, Introd., p. 13): 'In 1695 there came from the Oxford Press a Lucretius edited not by Bentley, but by Thomas Creech, Fellow of All Souls, a man of sound sense and good taste, but to judge from his book of somewhat arrogant and supercilious temper. The text is nearly always a reproduction of one or other of the editions of Lambinus: such criticism indeed he seems in his preface to look upon as beneath him. His notes are in most cases mere abridgements of those of Lambinus or copied from Faber, and his illustrations are usually borrowed from the former. All this he does as if it were a matter of course, not thinking it necessary to avow or conceal his obligations. His interpretation is his own: how far it is of assistance to a student must depend upon what he seeks for in it. His *Lucretius*, however, owing to the clearness and brevity of the notes, has continued to be a popular one from that time to the present.'

writes in the dedication, how my leisure has been spent; my answer is this book. 'And yet', he adds, 'nothing which is too unpolished or destitute of all charm, vigour, and penetration ought to be sent to so distinguished a scholar as yourself. Could anything seem carefully done to you, who are as learned in criticism and philosophy as your youth permits and in poetry old for your years, were you not to exercise that restraint with which you are wont to estimate your own gifts, and that generosity which makes you consider my trifles of some value?'

Such praise, high-flown though it is, is not merely the adulation of a poor author for a wealthy patron. Codrington constantly kept him 'up to the mark', encouraging and at the same time vigorously criticizing. Creech's slackness some years later, while engaged in editing the works of Justin the historian, is a case in point. He had definitely pledged himself in the matter. Yet when Codrington returned from his military career in Flanders, it was to find Creech wasting his time in the London coffee-houses, with his task laid to one side not half completed. The former had condoned the poet's caprice on many previous occasions; but this time he adopted a strong line, haled him to Oxford and treated him to some plain speaking. 'Whilst he humoured his fantasque in trifles only,' Codrington afterwards observed, 'I neither thought it humane to pique him, nor decent to give advice to one from whom I ought rather to receive it. His engagement to the world for an edition of Justin M. was a case to be excepted. His interest and honour were wholly at stake, and I thought myself obliged to speak home.' In his opinion Creech had found the task a heavier one than he had originally anticipated. 'When Mr. Creech', he adds, 'first promised us a Justin M. he did not, I fancy, propose to himself so much business as was afterwards cut out for him. He had read him much and

carefully, corrected the text in many places, and the translation in more. This with a pompous dissertation or two on the great qualities of his author, and a slight account of the conjuncture which he writ, with some critical notes on the text, he thought was all his task and would not furnish out an edition.'[1] But reading l'abbé Longerue's monumental life of Justin came as something of a shock, and disheartened him from proceeding.

As a matter of fact mental trouble had already begun to afflict poor Creech before leaving London. Worry and financial embarrassment were developing a mania in respect of money matters. On opening himself to Codrington on this head, the latter immediately responded (as he had done on previous occasions) by writing him a note on his agent for forty pounds payable at sight and promising a further sixty pounds at Oxford some two months hence, and a third loan of fifty pounds in six month's time. Yet the very next day Creech came back, crying out, 'Colonel, without your favour I cannot subsist, I cannot subsist', and asking for a loan of a hundred pounds as if nothing has been previously arranged.[2]

The upshot of the pitiful story was Creech's death by his own hand in 1701. By that time his friend and supporter was many thousand miles away, a Governor-General in the West Indies. Forthwith rumour, many-tongued, buzzed it abroad that his suicide was due to Codrington's refusal of financial aid. With this calumny his friend Dr. Charlett hastened to acquaint him. The reply, which is one of the very few private letters of his still extant, is characteristic. Like most proud and sensitive people he affected to ignore slander with philosophic and unruffled calm: in reality it cut more

[1] Codrington to Dr. Charlett, Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), vol. 20, ff. 55–8.

[2] *Ibid.*

deeply and rankled longer than with most men. Later when we come to examine his career in the maelstrom of West Indian politics, this habit of concealing suffering by a mask of hauteur will be still more evident.

'The same good-natured people', he wrote on this occasion, 'who would represent us unkind to Mr. Creech since his death, very probably are some of those who would have us believed too partial in his favour whilst alive: but fair dealing is what we are not to expect till men learn to be reasonable and equitable. This I must own I have long since despaired of, after some experience of and more reflection on mankind, and therefore I content myself to despise what I cannot prevent. My calmness will never be ruffled, nor my conduct directed, by other people's whimsies, but by my own notions; so that I leave the men of supposition to opine as much and as impertinently as they please.'[1] His calm will never be ruffled: nevertheless, to be accused of having driven an intimate friend to insanity and suicide by harsh treatment was a bitter thing. He had never said or done anything to Creech, he exclaims, which he wished unsaid or undone until he received Charlett's letter describing what Creech's mental condition had been. 'I used the liberty and did the duty of a friend; but my sincerity was ill-timed. Had I received any light, or the least hint from you or any other of his friends of the disorder you mention, I should have talked to him of his health more than his reputation, and have carried him to Tunbridge rather than have sent him to Oxford.'[2]

Perhaps this episode may most fitly be concluded by quoting Creech's will, wherein he writes—'I would in particular remember my College, and my good friends Colonel Codrington, Dr. Charlett, Dr. Sykes . . . but

[1] Codrington to Dr. Charlett (*ut supra*).
[2] *Ibid.*

I am not in a condition to give legacies. I hope none will think this omission to be disrespect.'[1]

Meanwhile, Codrington himself was exchanging the academic peace of All Souls for the noisy company of a troop-ship and the clamour and stench of a military campaign in the tropics. By the autumn of 1692 King William's far-reaching schemes against the domination of Louis XIV had reached a more hopeful stage. Ireland and Scotland were subdued; William had honourably held his own after Steenkerke; English treachery as well as French sea-power had been definitely checked at La Hogue. In order to follow up this last advantage by striking a blow at the enemy in the New World, it was now decided to send out a great armament to the West Indies under Admiral Sir Francis Wheler and Colonel Foulke. The primary object of the expedition was to drive the French out of the Antilles, in retaliation for their previous aggression and cruelty to the English planters, which (as we have seen) had been partially avenged by the elder Codrington's re-conquest of St. Christopher in 1690. That done, it was intended that the force should make its way to New England, pick up reinforcements, and attack the French in Canada. Such an enterprise to the islands where his boyhood had been spent, and in which his father would be certain to take a leading part, proved an irresistible attraction to the son. Approached in the matter, the College authorities decided to show their sympathy and support by allowing him to retain his Fellowship with its emoluments whilst on active service.[2]

All preparations were made accordingly, lace ruffles and satin knee-breeches giving place to a military tunic and jack-boots. Joining up as a volunteer, Codrington was probably attached to the foot regiment of Colonel Robert Goodwyn, in which his conduct subsequently

[1] *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1784), vol. iv, p. 433.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 672.

gained him a captaincy. Early in January 1693 the flotilla, consisting of twelve men-of-war and some merchantmen, with the two regiments of Colonels Foulke and Goodwyn on board, weighed anchor and made its way down the Channel in squally weather. Losing touch with the *Ruby*, *Dragon*, *Experiment*, *Cygnet*, and some merchantmen by reason of the rough weather, they reached Madeira on the 26th, where most of the missing ships were found. After a very civil reception by the Governor during the three days' halt, the fleet put out into the Atlantic on the 29th. After a prosperous voyage Sir Francis Wheler on the 28th of February anchored his fleet in Carlisle Bay at Barbados. The islanders were all agog, and gave the weary troops a royal reception. 'The kindness is carried to that pitch', Wheler reported, 'that the officers are as easy and as welcome in the gentlemen's houses as if they were their own.'[1] Active support, too, was forthcoming: two Barbadian regiments were mustered, with their own transports and provisions, ready to accompany the expedition to Martinique.

The part played by Codrington in the subsequent campaign is not of sufficient importance to warrant a detailed narrative, but the experience then gained of the difficulties common to all West Indian expeditions was so valuable in after years, when he came himself to lead a similar armament against Guadeloupe, that a summarized account is not out of place. Indeed the chief interest of Codrington's career up to 1700 lies in the fact that it was a period of preparation, in which one can see a man in the making. Scholarship at Oxford, military knowledge in the Indies and Flanders, contact with and experience of all sorts and conditions in London and Paris, all developed latent

[1] Sir Francis Wheler to the Earl of Nottingham, 6 March 1693 (*Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, No. 170). Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 164, 165, 171, 172.

qualities which moulded and actuated his doings when at last his lot was set in a leading role.

Probably for the first time since leaving Barbados as a little boy Codrington was now able to re-visit his old home. The manor house at Consett and the family plantations were little changed, though a stranger was now their tenant. Soon he was to meet his father—genial and valiant as before, but now a man of wide authority and increasingly obsessed with the desire for gain. At a council of war on the 8th of March it was resolved to send a sloop to Governor Codrington, acquainting him with the arrival of the expedition and that, as it was inexpedient to fall so far to leeward as Antigua for an attack on Martinique, he should join them at the latter island.[1] Meanwhile, valuable time was wasted at Barbados. In fact the expedition was already three months overdue, a circumstance which largely contributed to its failure.

Leaving Spikes Town, Barbados, on the 30th of March, Wheler anchored his fleet in the Cul de Sac Marine of Martinique on the morning of Saturday, the 1st of April.[2] The younger Codrington was selected to go with Foulke, the commander-in-chief, and Colonel Lloyd on an immediate reconnaissance.[3] The three boarded a light sloop which went close in to the shore under heavy fire from the French in order to find a convenient landing-place. During the operation Foulke received a slight flesh wound in the chest.

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, No. 170, i.

[2] Except where otherwise stated the subsequent narrative of the campaign is drawn from 'A Journal kept by Sir Francis Wheler, Knight . . . of the proceeding of the fleet and land forces under the command of Col. John Foulke, from Thursday the 30th March '92 . . . to the 18th of May, when we left St. Christophers bound to New England' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 14th Report, App., Pt. 2, *Portland MSS.*, iii, pp. 516–28).

[3] Governor Kendall (of Barbados) to the Earl of Nottingham, *Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, No. 334.

Disembarkation, however, was out of the question owing to a fresh breeze blowing from the land. But on the following day Foulke, and probably Codrington with him, succeeded in gradually landing from small boats a raiding party fifteen hundred strong. By Monday night all the buildings of the Cul de Sac, including many sugar-mills, had been burned down and destroyed, the French taking to flight without offering opposition. Next day (4th April) Foulke re-embarked his troops, well satisfied with this first incursion. Similar raids were executed during the ensuing week, until Governor Codrington arrived, bringing with him six hundred regulars of Lloyd's regiment and eight hundred Creoles of the Leeward Islands militia.

It was at first resolved to launch the main attack against the fortress which commanded the Cul de Sac Royal. But lack of a wind preventing, a further council of war decided to attack Fort St. Pierre instead. The fleet accordingly repaired thither, despite occasional calms; and on the morning of the 17th the whole army was successfully landed without loss. The enemy poured out from the town three miles away to meet the invaders, and attacked with such vigour that the English posts were driven in until reinforcements were brought up. All that afternoon hot fighting took place, in which the English with difficulty held their own, losing 120 killed and wounded. Dawn of the next day showed that the French had abandoned a series of posts, which were strongly protected by trenches along the hill-side, and had retreated to the town. The position was at once occupied, and food and ammunition brought up.

From now onwards, however, fortune deserted the English cause. Bad food and a scorching sun began to devastate the ranks with fever. The nature of the country too was against them. In order to gain the uplands where the town and fortress were situated, it

was necessary to capture a number of precipitous gullies and ravines which were strongly defended. When a succession of expensive attacks failed to gain these objectives, the situation became hopeless. Between the 17th and the 20th eight hundred men went down with wounds or fever, and worse still the Irish from Montserrat began to show signs of disaffection. A council of war held to discuss the situation decided after a very warm debate to retire.[1] Subsequently while the fleet lay off the coast of Dominica a proposal to attack Guadeloupe was mooted.[2] But Governor Codrington represented the general opinion when he voted against the project on the ground that victory was impossible without a campaign of at least six weeks. According to his instructions Wheler was bound to sail for North America by the end of May.

All further enterprise in the West Indies was accordingly abandoned. On the 26th of April four ships, full of sick and wounded, were sent on ahead to Basse Terre in St. Christopher, the healthiest of the English islands. Next day Governor Codrington sailed away to Antigua with the Leeward forces. The dreadful condition of the men may be gathered from the fact that when Wheler and the main fleet reached St. Christopher on the 4th of May, it was impossible to find accommodation for the sick. Every available house was already filled with cases of spotted fever from the ships which had arrived the week before.[3] Apart from

[1] Nevertheless the English were nearer to victory than they imagined. Some French refugees from Martinique, who were afterwards captured, reported that Fort St. Pierre could not have held out much longer, and would have surrendered if the English had advanced with resolution. The Governor, they said, had ordered all the women and children into the mountains. Carte MSS. (Bodleian), vol. 76 (Papers of the Earl of Huntingdon), f. 230, 8 June 1693.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, f. 250, 8 July.

[3] The same condition of affairs also prevailed at Barbados. See Carte MSS., vol. 76, f. 277.

the mortality among the Leeward and Barbadian regiments, the fleet and the two British regiments had lost most of their officers and half their men.

While the troops were slowly regaining health at St. Christopher, the younger Codrington was spending the month with his father inspecting the forts and general system of defence in Antigua, Nevis, and St. Christopher. The knowledge which he gained of the military resources and organization of the Leeward Islands proved of the utmost value when he himself came to be Governor-General. In 1699, when the Council of Trade and Plantations was seeking for accurate information in the matter, he was able to supply it and to offer constructive criticism. 'When I was last in the Indys,' he then wrote, 'which was in the expedition against Martinique, I viewed, I believe, all the Forts in our islands, except Montserrat . . . and I believe I may without vanity pretend to understand this busnes better than anyone on the Exchange or in the Islands.'[1]

At the end of May Sir Francis Wheler with his regiments, still ravaged by disease, sailed from St. Christopher, and reached Boston a fortnight later.[2] The West Indian phase of the campaign had been extremely unfortunate; the North American was disgraceful. When Wheler asked Governor Sir William Phips for the expected New England reinforcements, the astounded Admiral was informed that no instructions had been received from Whitehall, and no preparations had been made. As a recent writer has suggested, there are strong grounds for suspecting Phips of deliberate treachery.[3] Eventually in September the expedition sailed away home to England, terribly thinned in numbers, having accomplished nothing.

[1] Codrington to Mr. Popple (13 October), *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 863.
[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, No. 410.
[3] *Ibid.*, Introd., pp. x–xi.

Owing to the culpable negligence of the English officials, the enterprise that was to have driven the French from the Indies and Canada was an unqualified disaster. As Governor Codrington with his usual insight and vigour pointed out to the home authorities, the failure was principally due to three great blunders—the dispatch of the expedition three months too late so that it arrived at the most unhealthy time of the year, the provision of a totally inadequate force of regulars, and thirdly, the order that Wheler must leave for North America by the end of May, thus leaving far too short a time for so great an undertaking. 'By setting forth at the beginning of April there remained but two months to destroy Martinique and Guadeloupe, islands so strong and large that the King would have been well served if the work had been done in four months.'[1] In short, too late. The same epitaph could be written over almost every English expedition to the West Indies. Lack of time, it will be remembered, had obliged the elder Codrington to withdraw from Martinique in 1690.[2] And for the son this experience was the first dose of a bitter medicine, which was afterwards to be administered in larger quantities, when he himself came to lead a greater armament, and failed for precisely the same reasons.

On the 31st of October (1693) a number of promotions were gazetted to fill up gaps in the ranks of the returned regiments. In the room of Colonel Goodwyn, who had died of fever, Lieut.-Colonel Dutton Colt was given the command, while Codrington was rewarded

[1] Governor Codrington to the Council of Trade (10 May 1693), *Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, No. 336.

[2] Sir Francis Wheler went out of his way to praise the conduct of Governor Codrington in the 1693 campaign. 'He was always at the head of his men at Martinique with all cheerfulness, without picking at Colonel Foulke commanding' (Phillipps MSS. 8544, State Papers, West Indies, quoted by Schomburgk, *History of Barbados* (London, 1847), pp. 305–6.

for his services with a captaincy in that regiment.[1] Active campaigning having ceased for the winter months, as was the pleasant custom in those less strenuous days, Codrington was free to repair to Oxford and recount his experiences in the comfort of All Souls Common Room. Charlett, Garth, Lloyd, Addison, and the old circle were awaiting him. Creech was there too, having almost completed the edition of *Lucretius* soon to be dedicated to his friend and patron. On the 29th of January 1694 Codrington proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts.

When the spring came, however, and all was bustling activity for the coming campaign in Flanders, Codrington once more took the London road and prepared himself for the battle-field. Creech's farewell message may indeed be taken to voice the feelings of the young captain's wide circle of Oxford friends. 'You', he wrote, 'though dedicated to the Muses, are snatched away for military service;—I would say, impiously, did not the common weal demand such men instructed with a liberal education, to set their skill against deceit and overcome chicane by constancy and courage. . . . Refusing no enterprise from fear, yet seek not any for mere vain-glorious reputation. Bear yourself with earnestness and eagerly, for you do not fight alone. But you have promised other if not better things; and I send you to the wars on this condition, that you write the history of our Prince with your victorious pen.'[2] Had circumstances permitted the composition of such a work on William III's campaigns, the world would have been richer for an eye-witness's narrative,

[1] *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. Clifford Walton (London, 1896), vol. iii, p. 321. This regiment was first raised in 1688 and was known as Colonel John Hale's Regiment (*ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 7). In 1698 (after the Peace of Ryswick) it was transformed into a marine regiment (*ibid.*, pp. 211 note and 213).

[2] Creech, Dedication of *Lucretius*, printed App. B, pp. 225–7, below.

at once scholarly, graceful, and alive with nervous energy.[1]

Thus ends Codrington's career at Oxford. Afterwards he paid occasional visits to the University; but his life had then been diverted into other channels. Though a true child of the Muses, as Creech remarked, his was too restless and ardent a spirit to find lifelong satisfaction in the atmosphere of a study. With the ambition and buoyancy of twenty-six years of age, and latent powers of leadership all calling for employment, he had to find a vent among men of the outside world. There, on the battle-field and in the literary circles of London, he won, as at Oxford, golden opinions. It was the final stage of experiment, before the heavy burden of anxious responsibilities came upon him.

[1] His official dispatches during the years 1700–3 provide ample proof of his ability as a writer of English prose.

V

BATTLE-FIELD AND THEATRE (1694–1700)

IN the spring of 1694 Codrington joined King William's army as a private captain.[1] Of his career in Flanders, distinguished though it was, we have unfortunately but meagre details. All that is possible, therefore, is to give a concise account of those actions in which he took part. Their importance for us lies in the fact that he thereby caught the eye of his Sovereign and gained experience of military affairs on a large scale, which not only secured for him the Governor-Generalship on his father's death, but also fitted him to hold that post at a most critical period when the British West Indies were in peril of extinction at the hands of the French.

At the end of May 1694 the allied army reassembled for the new campaign, encamping at Meldert near the Parck camp of the previous year.[2] The French, nominally commanded by the Dauphin but actually by Luxembourg, were holding the lines of the Scheldt, and were covering Ypres, Menin, Dunkirk, and neighbouring fortresses with strong detachments. After a month of marching and counter-marching, King William realized that nothing could be attempted on that side and accordingly resolved to seize the opportunity of

[1] Colonel Colt's Regiment, in which Codrington had commanded a company, did not take part in these campaigns. Cf. Colonel (afterwards Brigadier) Columbine to the Lord High Admiral: 'I was Colonel when he [i.e. Codrington] was a Private Captain' (*Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 247, 26 January 1703).

[2] This account of the Flanders campaigns is drawn from the following sources: (i) E. D'Auvergne, *History of the Campaigns in Flanders*, London, 1691–7; (ii) A. Boyer, *History of King William III* (3 vols.), London, 1702–3; (iii) Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army, 1660–1700*, London, 1894.

capturing the town and castle of Huy, and if possible to cross the Scheldt. On the 13th of July the allied army moved towards Huy, halting at Ramillies. After an exhausting march in the direction of the Scheldt, William's attempt to cross that river was frustrated by the presence of the French in Tournai. The attack on Huy, however, proceeded, the Prince de Tilly passing the Meuse and investing the place. Next day sixteen regiments of foot arrived under the Duke of Holstein Ploen, who was appointed to command the siege. At his approach the town quickly surrendered, and preparations were made for assaulting the castle.

In the siege which followed, Captain Codrington had his first experience of real trench warfare. Gun emplacements were dug, and by the 19th of September field batteries were hauled into positions which commanded the castle. Step by step the infantry burrowed and fought their way towards the walls, gradually driving the enemy back out of their entrenchments. Finally, when all things were ready for a general assault on the 27th, the French Governor beat a parley, and surrendered the fortress next day. 'By this Conquest', adds Boyer, 'the French were totally expelled out of the Bishoprick of Liege.'[1]

The capture of Huy was indeed the only stirring episode of the campaign, which concluded forthwith. The army broke up, the British troops proceeding to their winter quarters at Ghent, Bruges, Malines, and other Flanders towns, where the officers did their best to imitate the gay society of London.[2] Banquets, balls, gaming, and the theatre constituted the usual diversions. Codrington had the opportunity of making many new friends during these winter months. Among them was John Courthope, colonel of a foot regiment,

[1] Boyer, *History of King William III*, vol. ii, p. 393.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 400, and D'Auvergne, *History of the Compagne in the Spanish Netherlands, 1694* (London, 1694), p. 104.

who had married Rachel Codrington, Christopher's cousin. Codrington and he had probably met before at the Middle Temple, of which they were both members. Courthope afterwards fell fighting gallantly before Namur, and Codrington benefited his widow by bequeathing to her a legacy of five hundred pounds in his will.[1]

Another friend, of whom more hereafter, was James Stanhope, who won a colonelcy of the Guards at Namur, and subsequently rose to be general, first Earl Stanhope, and Prime Minister under George I. 'The best scholar, perhaps, of any gentleman of his time,' was the verdict of Speaker Onslow. Thus Stanhope and Codrington had much in common, both of them combining devotion to learning with a love of gunpowder. When the war was over they were to be found together again in the literary society of Paris and London. The winter of 1694 was exceptionally severe, even for Flanders: but with companions such as these in the solid comfort of good quarters, the cold monotony of Flanders fields must have been wellnigh forgotten.

Service as a volunteer, however, was an expensive business, especially during the winter months when charges for food and lodging were high. Codrington the elder had been so anxious for his son to serve that he had assigned him his entire salary as Governor of the Leeward Islands. Unfortunately the poverty-stricken Government ceased payment after October 1694, with the result that young Christopher was obliged to run heavily into debt in order to main-

[1] *Memoir of the Family of Codrington of Codrington* (Letchworth, 1910), pp. 94–5. Rachel was the daughter of John Codrington (1590–1670), who was the elder brother of the original Christopher Codrington. 'No Gentleman ever fell more generally lamented than Colonel Courthop did on this Occasion, giving all possible Hopes of an extraordinary man in the military art, if he had liv'd' (D'Auvergne, *History of the Last Compagne in Flanders, 1695* (London, 1696), p. 151).

tain himself in the field during the next two campaigns.[1]

In April 1695 both armies began to assemble for the renewal of operations. After some skilful manœuvring, which left the French in doubt as to whether the assault was intended against Namur or Charleroi, William ordered the Earl of Athlone to cross the Sambre at Chasselet and then march down that river again towards Namur, which was invested by the 23rd of June. William, however, had not been quick enough to prevent Boufflers from throwing himself into the threatened fortress with 1,200 men. On the 28th of June Major-General Ramsay arrived with the First Foot Guards and fifteen other regiments, followed some days later by Lord Cutts with further reinforcements.

The town of Namur, girt by the Sambre and Meuse, and with the mighty fortress frowning above it, had been made as nearly impregnable as the genius of Vauban could devise. Detached bastions and counter-scarps of massive masonry, with bomb-proof shelters and pallisaded covered-ways, had been erected wherever the lie of the ground admitted of attack. The French themselves were confident that nothing less than an expensive siege of many months' duration could make any impression on the place.[2] In short, valour and skill of the highest order was called for if success was to be achieved.

For some days trenches were pushed vigorously forward, and, despite repeated sallies by the besieged, they were soon within fuzee-shot of the counter-scarp. On the evening of the 8th of July General Ramsay was ordered to attack the covered-way on Bouge Hill. The post of danger was given to five battalions of the Guards,

[1] See Hutcheson to the Council of Trade and Plantations (12 November 1697), *Cal. Col.*, 1697–8, No. 43, i.

[2] For detailed descriptions of the town and castle see D'Auvergne, *History of the Last Compagne in Flanders, 1695*, pp. 41–2, and Boyer (*ut supra*), vol. iii, pp. 68–70.

led by Lord Cutts, whose brilliant courage carried everything before it. In two hours' fighting the French, though stoutly resisting, were forced back from work to work. The main covered-way was seized and held, detachments of the enemy being driven even as far as the gates of the Porte de Fer—a feat which drew from the taciturn William the famous exclamation, 'See my brave English!' Meantime, the Dutch guards had found a more difficult task and were unable to advance until reinforced. Then not only was Le Coquelet gained and the covered-ways, but also the whole of the heights of Bouge Hill. The loss on both sides amounted to no less than four thousand killed and wounded. The Guards were so badly cut up that they were relieved at midnight and accorded the personal congratulations of the King. 'And indeed', Boyer remarks, 'it must be remembered to their Immortal Honour, that without any shelter they advanc'd boldly, and Undisturbed, amidst Showers of great and small shot, Bombs, and Hand Granadoes; which by the Effect of Mines and Fougades, open'd Graves for them in several places, towards an Enemy secur'd by Retrenchments well pallisadoed.'[1] One of the officers of the First Regiment of Guards who had been killed was Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, commander of the second battalion, which was shortly afterwards given to Codrington in reward for his valour during this encounter.

A period of trench warfare under very depressing conditions then followed. Yet, despite a torrential rainfall and continuous bombardment by the besieged, trenches were steadily advanced and batteries established round the St. Nicholas Gate. King William himself constantly visited the works to encourage the troops. 'Several persons', writes D'Auvergne, 'were

[1] Boyer (*ut supra*), vol. iii, p. 77. The Brigade of Guards had lost 177 killed, 366 wounded, and 43 taken prisoner at the gates of the town (D'Auvergne, *ut supra*, p. 64).

both killed and wounded near the King in his day-by-day visits of our approaches; but it pleased God to spare his Sacred Person in all those dangers to which he so freely exposed himself.'[1] During these unspectacular but gruelling operations, the Guards (and probably Codrington with them) bore a prominent part.[2] Heavy fighting, severe losses, and steady progress sum up the situation until the 23rd of July, when the guns succeeded in breaching the St. Nicholas bastion. That evening a simultaneous assault was launched, which lasted until midnight, and was so successful as to render any further defence impossible. By the 27th the English were in possession of the town, the French having withdrawn to join the garrison of the castle.[3]

Thus far, the courage and tenacity of the Allies had frustrated the hopes of the enemy. The great fortress itself, however, was an even tougher proposition. Boyer's description of the opening bombardment is irresistibly reminiscent of another and more recent struggle in the 'cock-pit of Europe'.

'The Cannon and mortars answered one another in Time, and form'd a dismal Tremendous Harmony: Clouds of Smoke, and Flashes of Sooty Flame fill'd the Air, as if Hell itself had Vomited its kindled Brimstone; and the Showers of red-hot Bullets and Bombs, that pour'd continually on the Castle, so scar'd the Enemy, that none of them durst peep out of their Shelters under-ground, but such as were oblidg'd to be upon Duty.'[4]

Soon after the operations against the castle had begun, King William on the 1st of August marked his appreciation of Codrington's behaviour by promoting

[1] D'Auvergne, p. 68.

[2] The Coldstreamers had been left to guard the King's quarters; but the remainder after a week's rest had returned to the trenches (*ibid.*, p. 69).

[3] The formal surrender of the town was signed by Count Guiscard, the Governor, on the 4th of August.

[4] Boyer, pp. 86–7.

him to command the second battalion of the First Foot Guards with the rank of lieut.-colonel.[1] It was a brilliant achievement for a young man of twenty-seven, and paved the way for a further mark of confidence in the subsequent appointment as Governor-General. At Oxford the news was received with delight. 'About the beginning of August', wrote the aged Anthony Wood, 'Mr. Tanner of All Souls College told me that Christopher Codrington of All Souls who was Captain of foot at the siege of Namur, did signal service in the taking the towne of Namur, for which he was rewarded with the captainship of the guards worth about 500 l per annum.'[2]

Meanwhile, the attack was proceeding with unabated fury. By the 11th of August one hundred and thirty-six guns and fifty mortars and howitzers were directing a terrific bombardment on the French works, three hundred of the garrison being killed in one day. On the 20th a general assault was ordered. When the signal for attack was given by the explosion of a barrel of powder in the British quarters, four serjeants with fifteen picked men left the front-line trench, followed by the grenadiers, the Guards, and behind them the remainder of the foot. Codrington was there leading his battalion. The attackers swept on into the breach, but were eventually driven back by the French, who

[1] *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. Clifford Walton (London, 1896), vol. iv, p. 66. Cf. Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1741), vol. ii, p. 206: 'His majesty rewarded him [i.e. Codrington] on the spot with a principal command in his Guards at the same time and in the same Post with the Lord Haversham and the late Lord Windsor.' Concerning Lord Windsor, see Burke, *Dictionary of the Peerages . . . Extinct, Dormant and in Abeyance* (3rd ed., London, 1846, p. 580). Thomas Windsor, 'having distinguished himself in the Wars of Flanders, was created by King William III, a peer of Ireland, in the dignity of Viscount Windsor. . . .'

[2] Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1894), vol. iii, p. 487.

were protected by an inner entrenchment which the bombardment had failed to touch. Then occurred a memorable incident. Lord Cutts called for volunteers. A small band was selected under Ensign Cockle of Mackay's Regiment, which by sheer reckless daring succeeded in surmounting the palisades and planting the colours on the ramparts. The tide had turned. Work after work fell before an onslaught that was irresistible: the castle was at their mercy. But the price paid was a heavy one. In Codrington's battalion alone the ranks had been terribly thinned, though the commander himself was unscathed.[1] On the 26th at nine of the morning the garrison which had started 13,000 strong, and ended with less than 5,000, filed out between two long lines of the allied troops, with colours flying, arms carried, bullet in mouth, and matches lighted. They had been accorded, in the words of Clifford Walton, 'all the emblems of those who have fought a good fight and suffered a defeat scarcely less honourable than a victory'. After a full-order review on the 3rd of September, the army went into winter quarters.

Returning to England with the King a few weeks later, Colonel Codrington proceeded once more to Oxford and to All Souls, where his friends received him with deserved honour. His earlier doings at Martinique paled before his new exploits. The great Addison, in his Latin poem celebrating the peace, went out of his way to eulogize his friend.

> Speed from thy squadrons, dauntless Leader, speed;
> For deathless wilt be rendered in thy deed
> If aught my song avail, and late-voiced praise
> For thee the nation's heirs unborn shall raise,
> Whom heaven with many a varied art endowed
> And crowned with all the skill Minerva showed.

[1] The list of those killed in the battalion included Captain Mitchell, one of the senior officers (D'Auvergne, p. 153).

So ardent a spirit, he continued, was not nurtured in the chilly fogs of England.

> This heart ablaze, this spirit's surging foam
> No land of northern stars—nay a warmer home
> Brought forth to light: not our mean clime, but where
> A fiercer sun sheds fuller rays and fair—
> Far land of Ind, affronting Phoebus' face,
> This region of thy birth, nursing the grace
> Of thy unbounded virtue, fanned to flame
> From tenderest years, thy great mind's noble aim.[1]

Indeed the University was mightily proud of the varied talents of her hero.[2]

Taking advantage of his popularity, certain friends persuaded Codrington within a few weeks of his arrival to stand for the University at the impending general election. The King had been emboldened by the universal rejoicing over Namur to dissolve Parliament and issue writs for a new election, in the hope that the old Tory majority would be replaced by a preponderance of the Whig supporters of the war. Codrington himself was a strong Whig, and ardently in favour of throwing the full weight of English resources into the struggle against Louis. But Oxford was ever a centre of Toryism. Not even personal affection for Codrington would induce the great majority of Masters to vote for a party which savoured of dissent. Moreover, intrigues were afoot to rush the election of an old Tory, Sir Christopher Musgrave, before the other side had time to organize.[3] Realizing the improbability of success,

[1] *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita* (see App. B, p. 227, below). The above extract is taken from a translation by Mr. Stephen Green, of Brasenose College, Oxford, to whom I am indebted for kind assistance.

[2] Cf. Hudson, *Dedication* (*ut supra*), in which he implores Codrington's return, 'in order that we may the more easily put an end to the war now raging in the vitals of Germany'.

[3] 'One Rook of Queen's . . . named Sir Christopher Musgrave as the fittest person, . . . and that poor Sir Christopher who has stood up so

Codrington abandoned the idea and refused to contest the seat.[1] Perhaps it was better so. Even if he had headed the poll, the confined atmosphere of politics would have irked him. To serve his master abroad was more worth while than talking for him at home.

Disagreement in politics, however, in no way lessened personal regard. A month later the University paid a very appropriate compliment to the scholar-soldier by asking him to deliver the University oration before His Majesty. It had been arranged that King William should visit Oxford in state on the 5th of November. Accordingly the Duke of Ormonde, Chancellor of the University, drove over from London the day before, being met outside the city and conducted to All Souls. 'Upon his arrival', we are told, 'the Vice-Chancellor with the Doctors and Proctors in their Habits, waited upon his Grace, with the Public Orator, who delivered the thanks of y^e^ University to his Grace, for the great favour of his presence on this solemn occasion.'[2] Early next morning Codrington, with the doctors and other specially chosen Masters arrayed in their gowns, waited upon Ormonde at All Souls, who rode at their head a mile out of the town to meet the King. About ten o'clock His Majesty's coach appeared on the road from Woodstock. Immediately the company dis-

stiffly for the University in difficult times, is like to be thrown out of the country by a Whig faction, and will be chosen nowhere if the University does not take pity on him.' 'The writ', the writer adds, 'will be sent to the Sheriff, who sends a precept to elect. But when Mr. George Clark was elected he brought the writ in his pocket straight to the University. If this can be done, you should hasten with it as soon as possible.' The Rev. W. Hayley (All Souls) to Sir W. Trumball (13 October 1695), *Hist. MSS. Comm., Marquis of Downshire MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, pp. 564–5). Musgrave, however, was elected for Appleby in 1695: he was member for Oxford University from 1698 to 1700 (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

[1] 'Codrington's friends find their error in putting him up' (*ibid.*).

[2] Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), vol. 5, f. 89 (Dr. Gibson to Dr. Charlett).

mounted and paid their duty. The Vice-Chancellor was presented, and requited his Sovereign with a Latin speech. The beadles delivered up their staves, which His Majesty 'was graciously pleased to return'. And finally the mayor and other civic representatives were presented with the usual formalities. 'Then the Duke of Ormonde', writes Doctor Gibson, 'and the Earl of Abingdon riding before the Coach, after them the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor, then the Doctors, Masters, Aldermen, and Citizens, proceeded in great order through High Street to the East Gate of the Schools. His Majesty alighting passed directly from thence to the Theatre, where a large banquet was provided with variety of musick.'[1]

It so happened that the Public Orator had fallen ill, and Codrington was called upon at short notice to deliver the University Oration in his stead. Meantime the King, who had received a very cool reception despite the formal greetings, had entered the Sheldonian, and was concealing his mortification by gazing up at the paintings on the ceiling and chatting occasionally with the Duke of Ormonde. 'Then', writes Anthony Wood, 'was brought to him Capt. Christo. Codrington of All Souls College, who knel'd on the lower step, then stood up and spoke a short Latin oration.'[2] Therein he 'express'd the publick joy of y^e^ University to see his Majesty', especially coming as he did fresh from his victories on the battle-field, of which Codrington then gave an eloquent and stirring summary.[3] Dr. Gibson's phrase, 'a very elegant oration',

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1894), vol. iii, p. 495. A full account of the proceedings is given by Wood (*ibid.*, pp. 493–6).

[3] Ballard MSS. Cf. Hudson (*op. cit.*), 'utque nos Universos eloquentiae tuae virilis admiratione perculeris, cum pleno academicorum confessu Regem magnifica oratione alloquutus es, et praeclara belli facinora eodem animo, quo patrata erant, enarrasti. . . .'

was the general verdict. Life must have seemed very good to Codrington at that moment, as he stood in the presence of an approving monarch and an applauding University. The regard of the former he had won by valour in the field; that of the latter by solid attainment as a scholar. Nor must we grudge him his early mead of praise. The time was to come when he did bigger things and was rewarded with calumny and neglect.

To be misrepresented was the common fate of the monarch. Ill at ease and wishing himself away, he stood up after receiving a number of formal presentations and was escorted by the Vice-Chancellor, noblemen, and doctors as far as the gate of the theatre, where he took coach for Windsor. And so drove away over Headington Hill, the loneliest man in England.

Codrington doubtless remained for the ceremonies which followed. That afternoon honorary degrees were conferred in Convocation. Next day, being Sunday, all proceeded to St. Mary's for the University sermon, preached by Dr. Finch, the Warden of All Souls, and followed by a 'variety of musick and Anthems'. Then came a sumptuous banquet in the public hall of All Souls. It is not surprising that His Grace of Ormonde took coach that evening for London, 'extremely satisfy'd with his entertainment'.

Whether Codrington spent the remainder of the winter of 1695–6 at Oxford or in London is uncertain. But by the end of April he had rejoined his company of the First Foot Guards in Flanders;[1] and shortly afterwards the campaign opened. The French, still under the command of Villeroy and Boufflers, were hindered from decisive action by lack of supplies. William, for his part, was similarly hampered by the

[1] 'Coll. Codrington, who is a captain in the King's foot guards, made *all* the campaigns during the war with his majestie. . . .' Luttrell's *Diary* (Oxford, 1857), vol. iv, p. 430.

defection of Savoy from the Grand Alliance and by a chronic lack of money. Indeed, at one period this latter circumstance threatened to ruin the campaign.[1] Such being the situation, both sides devoted themselves to marking time and hoping for the autumn. The only incident of importance was that at one time Huy was very nearly lost to the English. On the 10th of August William departed for England, and the army returned to winter quarters early in September. Equally indecisive was the '97 campaign, which the belligerents fought with one eye on the battle-field, and the other (so to speak) on the peace conference which had opened at Ryswick in May. Early on the morning of the 21st of September the three treaties were signed, which for the first time since Richelieu, lowered the prestige of France. Ryswick, however, was little more than a truce; the time for Utrecht had not yet come. Throughout these campaigns the First Foot Guards, and Colonel Codrington with them, had been continuously in action.

The war being over, all the world of English fashion flocked across the Channel to enjoy the gay amenities of Paris, from which they had been debarred so long. With regard to Codrington, the ensuing period constitutes a phase which is perhaps the most interesting, but the least fruitful, of his career. He became a lion of society. The London circle in which he now moved was aristocratic, brilliant, and on occasion scholarly. Often, too, it was dissolute. There he renewed acquaintance with Arthur Mainwaring, Thomas Brown, and other of the old Christ Church wits, with Sir Samuel Garth, physician, poet, and Fellow of All Souls, and particularly with Charles Boyle, the closest

[1] On the 20th of July King William wrote to Shrewsbury that if the Lords Justices failed to devise some expedient to raise some ready money 'all is lost and I must go to the Indies'. See Lodge, *The Political History of England* (Longman, 1918), vol. viii, p. 400.

of all his friends. New associates included some of the most eminent writers of the age, such as John Dennis, Southerne, Dick Steele, and possibly Dryden.

Early in the spring of 1698 three bachelors, Codrington, Boyle, and Spencer Compton, journeyed from London to spend the summer together in Paris.[1] Compton was a somewhat colourless young man who as Earl of Wilmington became Prime Minister in 1742, though actually a mere cipher in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle and Cartaret, the two Secretaries of State.[2] His connexion with Codrington is hard to discover. No other mention apart from this trip to Paris is made of them together. On arrival in Paris the three immediately stepped into an exceptionally gay and stimulating society. Mainwaring and his friend William Walsh, 'a man of Wit, a fine Gentleman and an excellent Critick', were there;[3] so too was Charles Hopkins the poet, Colonel James Stanhope, and a host of others. Enthroned amongst them as their natural leader was the genial spirit of Matthew Prior, who loved the bottle, poetry, and women alike. From what we know of Codrington he shared his affection for, at any rate, the last two of these. So also did Boyle.[4] While secretary to King William at the Hague in 1690, Mat Prior had spent his week-ends, as Thackeray remarks, 'boozing at a *Spielhaus* with his companions, perhaps bobbing for perch in a Dutch canal, and noting down, in a strain and with a grace not unworthy of his

[1] Cf. *Orrery Papers*, ed. the Countess of Cork and Orrery (London, 1903): 'I beg you to give my humble respects to Mr. Compton and Col. Codrington' (Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, to Charles Boyle, 12 April 1698). Secretary Vernon sent letters for Codrington to Paris in June (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Marquis of Bath MSS.*, Prior Papers, vol. iii, p. 225).

[2] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] Oldmixon, *Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring* (London, 1740), pp. 20–1, 345.

[4] So much is evident from Budgell, *Lives of the Boyles* (*ut supra*).

Epicurean master, the charms of his idleness, his retreat, and his Batavian Chloe'.[1] At the same time he had so acquitted himself as to be appointed Secretary to the Ambassadors at the Treaty of Ryswick, a post which he continued to hold in Paris under the Duke of Portland.[2] In 1700 he became one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, when he staunchly supported Codrington's administration in the West Indies.

Prior's sparkling temperament was just the type to catch Codrington's enthusiasm. For he was a man who could work and work well, who could compose to Chloe rich and graceful lyrics, who knew and loved the classics, and who was philosopher enough to write

> Our hopes like towering falcons aim
> At objects in an airy height:
> To stand aloof and view the flight,
> Is all the pleasure of the game.

In the library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat, Wiltshire, there are preserved a number of Prior's letters, which have not been hitherto published, and which provide some vivid glimpses of Codrington's doings in Paris. Ever since 1688 great numbers of Englishmen, including many who held high office under William, had played for safety by keeping in favour

[1] Thackeray, *English Humourists* (Lecture the Fourth).

[2] See Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*. Johnson quotes the following incident regarding Prior at this time: 'As he was one day surveying the apartments of Versailles, being shewn the victories of Lewis, painted by Le Brun, and asked whether the King of England's palace had any such decorations: 'The monuments of my master's actions', said he, 'are to be seen everywhere but in his own house.' Cf. *Poems on Several Occasions by Matthew Prior, Esq. To which is Prefixed the Life of Mr. Prior by Samuel Humphrey, Esq.* (4th ed., London, 1742), vol. II, p. xvii. For a full edition of his verse and prose see *Prior: Poems on Several Occasions* (ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge University Press, 1905), and *Prior: Dialogues of the Dead and Other Works in Prose and Verse* (ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge University Press, 1907). For his political career see Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: a Study of his Public Career* (Cambridge University Press, 1921)

with the exiled Stuarts. The exodus from London to Paris in 1698 provided exceptional opportunities for this form of intrigue; and Prior as Secretary to the Embassy made it his business to keep a close eye on pilgrimages to Chaillot and to report thereon. Writing to his chief, the Duke of Portland, on the 9th of July, he describes one of these scenes, in which Codrington's political views are clearly illustrated.

'King James' wife being at Chaillot, the children whom they call the Prince of Wales and the Princess of England, came thither to see her on Monday last. Some of the English here went, as a great many more did, to see the Prince and Princess at their coming out. I desired Mr (Charles) Hopkins to go likewise, which he did with Colonel Codrington. As the child came out, Hopkins retired a little, Codrington stood his ground, neither of them showing the least mark of respect.'[1] Some weeks later another example of Jacobitism occurred; this time in connexion with Colonel James Stanhope, Codrington's friend and companion in arms. Stanhope's case is typical of many. He had fought for William with exceptional gallantry at Namur, and in after years he gave distinguished service to Anne and George I. Yet during the long struggle with Louis XIV, when the Revolution settlement was in the balance, there was still a secret hankering after the glamour of

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Marquis of Bath MSS.*, Prior Papers, vol. iii, p. 231 (Matthew Prior to the Duke of Portland, 9 July 1698). The close watch maintained for signs of Jacobite sympathies is well illustrated by the concluding portion of this letter: 'But one Twisdel or Twisden, who came here with a knight of the same name and his relation since your Excellency went, and whom I have suspected for several reasons to be of that party, though he would have disguised it, was seen by my Lord Perth in the crowd, who said to his Lady, "Madam, there is Mr. Twisden"; and putting the Prince forward to him, Twisden knelt down and kissed his hand. Hopkins did not actually see him kiss his hand, but I am informed from other hands that the matter of fact is true. The young man endeavours to stifle it, his father being a man of estate in England who is already suspected to lean too much that way.'

the old dynasty. On the present occasion Stanhope had evidently spoken freely and indiscreetly of 'the Pretender' in the presence of Codrington and others, when flushed with wine. Prior refused to take a serious view of the affair, but decided that Portland ought to know of it. 'I have spoken', he wrote, 'to Burke since about Stanhope; I have no further particulars from him about that matter. If it was but a tavern bravado, that which is said in wine goes away with the fumes of it. Coddrington is Stanhope's friend; . . . I think he is a man of too much honour to conceal anything of this kind from your knowledge in case the other goes on in such extraordinary sentiments.'[1]

So amid drinking and jollity, political and amorous intrigue, literary and philosophical discussion,[2] this summer in Paris passed away. Enjoying himself as he was, after five years' hard campaigning, Codrington did not forget his wonted generosity. Some unknown writer, whose name is not disclosed, broken in health and fortune, was supported and protected by him at this time, and introduced to his friends. After Codrington had returned to London, Prior wrote to him about the man with a typical admixture of humour and pity. 'Your Toriano is a little under the dominion of the moon. He will go to Montpellier because four doctors send him; he says he intends to be cured of a consumption here, because he recovered of it last summer in England. The man, indeed, is whimsical; it is pity. He is gone forward, God speed him. I laughed at him as little as I could, which was all, I think, you could in reason expect from me.'[3]

[1] Prior Papers (*ut supra*), p. 241.

[2] Cf. Prior to Codrington, 'My service to the Fish against he prints a new miscellany. I will, as I have promised him, look up some bad verses to hinder the sale of the book. Do they translate Lucan? Or do the muses go forward?' (*ibid.*, p. 276).

[3] *Ibid.* Conceivably the man in question was the unfortunate Creech, who (as we have seen) went out of his mind two years later.

Prior's friendship for Codrington continued unabated after the return of the latter to London, which took place about the middle of July in company with Boyle and Spencer Compton.[1] But Prior warned all three that he was not a regular correspondent. 'I am glad', he wrote in October, 'my good friends Boyle and Coddrington, that you stand so near each other that a man may take aim at you at once. I wish Compton had subscribed too, that one letter might have served all three. For though I bustle about and pass for a man of business, I am as idle as the best of you. I must write to my correspondents, but for my friends I only trouble them when I have occasion for their help. These are my principles; you may act with me accordingly.'[2]

Immediately on his return to London, Christopher went to the aid of Mr. Richard Cary, who was hard at work drawing up a defence of the elder Codrington for the Council of Trade.[3] Some weeks later he received the sad news that his father had died suddenly on the 20th of July at Antigua. As already noted, his death occurred only just in time to prevent public disgrace. The son was furious at the injustice which he

[1] 'He [i.e. Codrington] is gone to London.' Prior to the Duke of Portland (24 July), *ibid.*, p. 241. The date of their return may have been determined by the fact that Compton received word in July that he had been returned to Parliament as member for the borough of Eye (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

[2] Prior Papers, p. 275. The degree of his friendship with Boyle is indicated in the following portion of the letter: 'I thank you, my dear Mr. Boyle, . . . for your hospitality to my ladies. Some, you know, have received angels in the shape of strangers, but mine, I think, are flesh and blood, at least they pass for such at Paris; they are of that number that my Lord Hastings calls succulent ladies. What they came to do in England, God knows; if to plot, or upon some more innocent design. My Lord Portland, however, is obliged to you for your care in observing and visiting them, and so is his Secretary.'

[3] See *Cal. Col.*, 1697–8, No. 590. 'Mr. Richard Cary attending . . . said that he only awaited Mr. Codrington's return from France to submit his answer to Mr. Walrond's accusations' (22 June 1698).

considered had been done to his parent, and probably disliked the kindly meant but somewhat flippant letter which Prior addressed to him on hearing the news. 'Colonel Coddrington, your father is dead, and if you have not philosophy enough to sustain the loss, burn your Malebranche and wet your pocket handkerchief. But if you are a true heir, come again to the Marais, where I have a little house and will receive you as I love you.'[1] As a matter of fact Codrington was not in a position to return to Paris, even if he had so desired. Within a month of the arrival of the news, it became common knowledge that the King had decided to reward the military service of the son by giving him the father's post.[2] His appointment as Governor-General of the Leeward Islands was officially announced in February 1699.[3]

For the next two years, while detained in London by business affairs, Codrington lived at high pressure. Now thirty years of age, with a brilliant record, a high position, vast wealth, and an engaging personality, he was one of the most courted men in the literary society of the capital. In these crowded years we find him in stubborn negotiations with the Treasury for the payment of arrears due to his father, visiting the Council of Trade and corresponding with planters on West Indian affairs, buying and putting in order the family estate at Dodington Park, writing verses for the theatre, and above all enjoying in coffee-house and club the companionship of the literary lights of the age. It is the picture of a man in the first flush of mature manhood, buoyant with success and rejoicing in

[1] Prior Papers, p. 276 (15 October 1698).

[2] 'Coll. Codrington . . . is like to succeed his father, deceas'd, as Governor of the Leeward Islands' (Luttrell's *Diary*, vol. iv, p. 430, 27 September 1698).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 481, 9 February 1699. His commission was signed on the 13th of May.

unbounded energy and wide interests. They are very breathless and fascinating days: they are also the last of the unclouded ones.

One of his most valued friends was Dr. (later Sir) Samuel Garth, whose society he had previously enjoyed at All Souls. In 1699 Garth had published his well-known poem, *The Dispensary*, which went through three editions in a few months, and was generally read for half a century. Therein he ridicules the apothecaries by describing a mock-heroic battle between them and the physicians. Certain of the latter who were in alliance with the apothecaries, such as Dr. Gibbons, Dr. Tyson, and Sir Richard Blackmore, are also treated in scathing fashion. Blackmore, who had forsaken medicine for poetry, was bidden 'to rise in Sense, and sink in Sound', and to 'Slide without falling, without straining Soar'. When preparing the third edition for press he persuaded Codrington, Boyle, and two others to write commendatory verses to be printed therewith.[1] Codrington responded with a composition headed 'To my Friend the Author, Desiring my Opinion of his Poem',[2] which is the only work of his which has survived in eighteenth-century anthologies. The opening lines are well known.

> I read thee over with a lover's eye;
> Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
> Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I.

He had the merit, moreover, of meaning what he said. Codrington's private copy of this third edition, which is in the library of the Royal College of Physicians of

[1] The other two contributors were Thomas Cheek and Henry Blount. Boyle's poem opens with the desire that some great genius would—

> In lasting numbers praise thy whole Design,
> And manly Beauty of each nervous line.

The Dispensary, A Poem (3rd ed.), London, 1699.

[2] Printed in App. B, pp. 227–9, below.

London, has all the names (which had been indicated by initials) written out in full in his own handwriting.[1] Codrington the gay cavalier is also revealed.

> I would a poet, like a mistress, try,
> Not by her hair, her hand, her nose, her eye;
> But by some nameless power, to give me joy.
> The nymph has Grafton's, Cecil's, Churchill's charms,
> If with resistless fires my soul she warms,
> With balm upon her lips, and raptures in her arms.

Upon the critics he pours contemptuous scorn; particularly on Dr. Gibbons and 'the city bard', Sir Richard Blackmore. These men are like to damn *The Dispensary*. Why let them damn, he exclaims: their medical and literary skill are on a par. Were it not wondrous hard if they were not permitted to judge, as well as kill? Surely the commendation of Hans Sloane and Radcliffe is sufficient,

> Whilst all the busy Mirmils of the town
> Envy our health, and pine away their own.

Not great poetry, of course; but the writer undoubtedly possessed the gift of witty and incisive satire. At the time the poem was much admired, and more than fifteen years later Richard Steele recalled it when writing to Garth.[2]

The references to 'the busy Mirmils' was part of the celebrated feud between the wits and Blackmore. After graduating at Oxford, Blackmore became in turn schoolmaster, doctor, and poet, being appointed physician to William III in 1697. Two years before, he had published a long narrative poem entitled *Prince Arthur*, which was very severely handled both in *The Dispensary* and by John Dennis, the critic.[3]

[1] See under 'Garth' in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] John Nichols, *The Epistolary Correspondence of Richard Steele* (London, 1809), pp. 387–90.

[3] Dennis, *Remarks on a Book entitled, 'Prince Arthur, an heroic Poem, with some General Critical Observations . . .'* (London, 1696).

As a result of these attacks he launched a general assault against all the wits and their ways in his *Satyr against Wit* in 1700. Therein he deplored the fact that so much talent was being wasted in amorous intrigue and frivolous verse-making. Unfortunately, his case was somewhat weakened by the fact that he was living in the city in Cheapside and had little personal acquaintance with men of letters. Few, however, escaped his censure. Boyle was 'a fine scholar sunk by wit'. A bankrupt age had been debased to even lower depths by the plays of men like Dennis and D'Urfey, and by the fulsome lampoons of Garth.

And that a man of Codrington's calibre should spend his time writing *billets-doux* in verse aroused his scorn.

> *Codron* will under-write his Indian Wit,
> Far-fetch'd indeed, so 'twill the Ladies fit.
> By Hearsay he 's a Scholar, and they say
> The Man 's a sort of Wit too in his way.[1]

Immediately a hornet's nest was about his ears. Joining forces, the wits in reply produced a book of *Commendatory Verses*. Some of them are clever and pungent; others are merely in bad taste. Codrington himself opens the attack with 'A Short and True History of the Author of the Satyr against Wit'.

> So Quack commenc'd: then, fierce with Pride, he swore,
> That Tooth-ach, Gripes, and Corns shou'd be no more.
> In vain his Druggs as well as Birch he try'd,
> His Boys grew Blockheads, and his Patients dy'd.

The sweeping nature of the condemnation may be gathered from the preface: 'In the first Part I intended to shew that Mr. Blackmore's Action has neither unity, nor integrity, nor morality, nor universality, and consequently that he can have no Fable, and no Heroick Poem. In the second Part I designed'd to come to the narration; and to shew that it is neither probable, delightful, nor wonderful.' Later, however, he wrote a number of friendly letters to Blackmore (*Mr. Dennis's Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical*, London, 1721, pp. 1–12, 154–8).

[1] Blackmore, *A Satyr against Wit* (London, 1700).

Next he turn'd Bard, and, mounted on a Cart,
Whose hideous Rumbling made *Apollo* start,
Burlesqu'd the Bravest, Wisest Son of *Mars*
In Ballad-rhimes, and all the Pomp of Farce.

Charles Boyle, with whom Codrington was probably living at this period, hastened to support his friends by attacking the common foe.

Let him great *Dr*[*y*]*d*[*e*]*n's* awful Name profane;
And learned *G*[*a*]*rth* with envious Pride disdain.
Codron's bright Genius with vile Punns lampoon,
And run a Muck at all the Wits in Town:
Let the Quack scribble any thing but Bills,
His Satyr Wounds not, but his Physick Kills.

In fact it was the old gibe of 'return to your galley-pots' cast in after years against Keats. The contributors on this occasion were legion, including such familiar figures as Sir Charles Sedley, John Dennis, Arthur Henley (to whom *The Dispensary* had been dedicated), Colonel James Stanhope, Arthur Mainwaring, John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave and Marquis of Normanby, Lady Sandwich, and Dick Steele himself. For our present purpose the chief interest of their satirical efforts lies in the light which they throw upon Codrington's friendships. One who went out of his way to compliment him was Dr. Thomas Smith, sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford,[1] who wrote as follows:

Bid him before he dares to write agen,
Resign his own, and take some other Pen.
D[*ryde*]*n* shall numbers, *C*[*ongre*]*ve* Wit inspire,
Dr[*a*]*ke* nicest Rules, but *B*[*oy*]*le* and *Codron* fire.

[1] He had been one of the few Fellows of Magdalen who submitted to James II's dictation, and was later compelled to surrender both his fellowship and his living for refusing to take the oaths to William and Mary. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the author of between thirty and forty books. See Atterbury's *Memoirs* (*ut supra*), and *Biographia Britannica*, vol. vi.

A very different friend and supporter was the vivacious and somewhat notorious Lady Sandwich. Her contribution was certainly much more lively and spontaneous than many of the others.

> Thou fund of Nonsense, was it not enough
> That Cits and pious Ladies lik'd thy stuff,
> That as thou Copy'dst Virgil, all might see
> Judicious Bell-men Imitated thee,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But thou must needs fall foul of Men of Sence,
> With Dullness equal to thy Impudence.
> Are *D*[*ryde*]*n*, *C*[*o*]*dr*[*o*]*n*, *G*[*ar*]*th*, *V*[*anbrug*]*h*, *B*[*oy*]*le*,
> Those names of Wonder, that adorn our Isle,
> Fit Subjects for thy vile Pedantick Pen?
> Hence saucy Usher to thy Desk again.

Finally, the poet William Walsh, an old Paris acquaintance, contributed a poem 'Upon the Character of Codron, as 'tis drawn by the Bungling Knight in his Satyr against Wit'. He contends that if Codrington's verses were of such a quality as to overcome the virtue of the ladies, then Blackmore's gibe was the highest possible praise. The latter's reply to this defence of Codrington was a telling one.

> Friend, by my Soul, the Devil 's in thy Quill,
> Or thou would'st never write and judge so ill;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Nor would the Youth, the Subject of thy Song,
> Accept thy Flatt'ries, or permit thy Tongue
> To blast his Credit with defaming Praise,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Was *He* the *Man* thy Rhimes would have him be,
> Or *Thou* the *Man* for whom he judges thee.

In fact in the *Discommendatory Verses*, which he wrote in reply,[1] Blackmore gave back as much, if not more, than he had received.

[1] Blackmore, *Discommendatory Verses on those which are Truly Commendatory on the Author of the Two Arthurs and the Satyr Against Wit* (London, 1700).

About the same time Codrington was asked by his friend Dennis, the critic and dramatist, to write an epilogue for his new play *Iphigenia*. The condition of the theatre during the so-called 'Restoration' period is well known. Comedies were usually brilliant and well constructed, but stained with gross indecency. Tragedies (equally full of bawdy talk) showed on the other hand an immense decline in dramatic power since the days of Shakespeare and Marlowe. They were for the most part stilted, artificial, and unreal. In *Iphigenia* Dennis, who made a point of running amuck among his contemporaries, openly endeavoured to break away from this tradition, and to produce something more virile.[1]

On the first night, when the play was produced at the theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, we can picture Codrington and a score of wits and gallants seated (as the custom then was) alongside the stage, exchanging snuff and badinage, and passing jests with that alluring actress Mrs. Bracegirdle or Mrs. Barry. Then the tragedy ends; and Codrington steps forward to read his epilogue:

> Our Bard shall end to-night as he began,
> Prologue, Play, Epilogue shall speak the Man.

How can the tragic muse be won, he exclaims, when tricked out in a foreign garb of motley, bereft

[1] See Prologue to the Play:

> Genius of England rises:
> 'Hither in Pomp the Tragick muse I've led,
> Who had twenty rolling moons been from you fled,
> Forlorn, forsaken, the Celestial Maid
> In Solitudes disconsolately stray'd.
> . . . . . .
> Am I all forsaken then! said she.
> Oh is my Britain faln to that Degree,
> As for effeminate arts t'abandon me?'

(*Iphigenia, A Tragedy*, by J. Dennis, London, 1700.)

of terror and with her majesty debased by obscene posturing?

> Our Bard resolves to steer a diff'rent Course,
> And travel upward to the *Grecian* Source;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Those charms he would with a bold Hand express,
> Nor make them fainter by an English Dress.[1]

The curtain is down, and the audience melts away: the grandees in their chairs and coaches, lesser folk on foot along the ill-lit streets. The author and his friends adjourned perhaps for supper with the ladies at White's; or maybe to the purely masculine society of Locket's or Will's Coffee-House in Covent Garden. Shutters drawn and candles brought, the night is spent in drinking, mirth, and ribaldry till the watch comes round crying the hour of two. And so to bed.

Within a few months of this event Codrington is found lending a hand in the production of another play. This time it is *The Fate of Capua*, by Tom Southerne. Once again Boyle and Codrington are found together. While the former wrote the prologue, the latter was responsible for the epilogue. The play itself was a finely constructed tragedy, with the scene set in Italy at the time when Hannibal had won Cannae and was threatening Rome. Southerne was a libertine, whose plays were usually as immoral as the rest. On this occasion, however, he wrote in a different strain; so much so, indeed, that the reader tends to lose patience with the unsophisticated Favonia and her cold-natured husband. The playgoers of the time had no doubts on the matter; they damned the production outright. Codrington's epilogue (which was spoken by Mrs. Barry) throws interesting sidelights

[1] *Epilogue*, printed in App. B, pp. 236–7, below.

upon his opinions, but hardly redounds to his credit.

> Poets fine Titles for themselves may find:
> I think 'em the Fool-mongers of Mankind.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Fool is the fav'rite Dish of the whole Feast.
> In Farce, the Wit's a Fool, or Fool's a Wit.
> In Comedy, the Beau pretends a right
> But Tragick Writers still agree to plot
> The greatest Heroe, for the greatest Sot.[1]

He then remarks that the author to please their taste had served a dish of fools, of which the leading characters were blest with a double share of both fool and hero. Favonia's lover would not tempt her chastity, and yet brought ruin upon her, while her husband, 'the Squeamish Capuan', lost his life in a duel 'for a meer whim of Honour'.

> Thank Heav'n our British Friends are not so nice.

The criticisms are just enough; they show a hatred of humbug; but they are by no means expressed in the best taste.[2] Neither plain living nor high thinking found much support in Bow Street.

But the society of dramatists and wits was only one of many interests during these two busy years. At Oxford, as we have seen, he had developed a love of philosophy, especially that of Locke, which he never afterwards lost. It was probably in 1699 or 1700 that he made the acquaintance of John Locke himself. Evidently he frequently enjoyed long discussions with him. In 1703 Codrington wrote: 'I have not heard anything concerning our good friend Mr. Lock. I hope

[1] Epilogue, printed in App. B, pp. 234–6, below.

[2] The *Biographia Britannica* describes Codrington as 'a great soldier, and a man of great politeness and considerable learning', but adds, 'his epilogue to Southern's tragedy, entitled *The Fate of Capua*, reflects but little credit on the Governor's poetical abilities, and at the same time affords no recommendation to the delicacy of his sentiments' (vol. iii, pp. 672, 675).

he is employing his time for the good of mankind and posterity; the subject he has sometimes talkt of to me, the conduct of humane Reason, can only be treated by himself or Father Malebranche, as it ought to be. I beg you'l please to give him my most humble service.'[1] The leap from the footlights of Drury Lane to the study of a philosopher is curious, but typical. Possibly the introduction to Locke was effected by Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, that 'streak of phosphoric light full of illusion and charm', with whom Codrington had established a warm friendship.[2] Delightful and fickle, rogue and knight errant, Peterborough was an enigma to his own and to succeeding generations. Codrington had more ballast and was less of a meteor. But they had this in common; both had mercurial minds that spun a thousand different jostling schemes. On his side Codrington always spoke of his friend with admiration. When it was announced in 1702 that Mordaunt was to command the great expedition to the West Indies, Codrington was overjoyed. 'Such a Fleet with such a Man at y^e^ head of it must not come to y^e^ Indys for nothing. . . . My lord is brave and determined—He will push and will be followed.'[3] Again, in 1707, when Governor Parke had incurred Codrington's wrath by his high-handedness, his chief fear was that Peterborough would intervene. 'I hope', he wrote to Lord Sunderland, 'my Lord Peterborough, who is very much Col. Codrington's friend, will not do me any disservice with your Lordship.'[4] Indeed, unstable though he was, Peterborough remained con-

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 232.

[2] Peterborough had been on intimate terms with Locke in Holland.

[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 124. In a subsequent letter (18 January 1703) Codrington reported that he had overcome the reluctance of the Creoles to join in the expedition by assuring them 'how different a man my Lord Peterborough is from Col. Fowke' of the 1693 campaign (*ibid.*, No. 200).

[4] *Ibid.*, 1706–8, No. 839 (29 March 1707).

sistently and actively loyal to Codrington. When the latter was passionately urging for permission to come home to vindicate his conduct at Guadeloupe, Mordaunt did his utmost to secure the required leave.[1] Friendship with the father led to intimacy with the son, the young Lord Mordaunt, who was associated with Codrington in the attack upon Blackmore.[2] About 1700, when Christopher bought the old family estate of Dodington Park in Gloucestershire from his cousin Samuel Codrington, he seems to have entrusted it to Peterborough's care. Very characteristically the latter enthusiastically propounded extensive schemes for improving the estate—and did nothing.[3]

Meantime, while the evenings were being spent amid the gaiety of Bow Street and the society of scholars, the mornings were devoted to transacting important business with the Government, preparatory to his departure for the Indies. A great part of the negotiations were concerned with settling various vexatious matters relating to the elder Codrington. One of the latter's misdemeanours, it will be remembered, had been a relentless persecution of John Lucas of Antigua. In accordance with the decision of the Council of Trade and Plantations, he had been released and allowed to come to England.[4] Unappeased by the father's death,

[1] *Ibid.*, 1704–5, No. 29 (Codrington to Peterborough, 17 January 1704).

[2] 'I give and Bequeath To my ffreinds the Rt. Honour[a] the Earl of Peterborough, y[e] honour[a] the Lord Mord[nt], . . . one hundred Guineas each' (see Will, printed in App. A, p. 219, below). In 1700, when only twenty-one, Lord Mordaunt, who was M.P. for Chippenham, was chosen as one of the managers of the impeachment of Lord Somers (see W. Stebbing, *Peterborough*, p. 43, 'English Men of Action' Series).

[3] 'This gives me a pretence . . . to beg you will please to let one of your under-gardiners plant me some fruit-trees and vines at Doddington. I doubt my Lord [Peterborough] has executed but little there. His designs were too large to be finisht.' Codrington to Wm. Popple (30 November 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 124.

[4] *Cal. Col.*, 1697–8, No. 649.

Lucas was now bent on obtaining satisfaction from the son. Lucas was venomously angry at the treatment received: Codrington was no less determined to defend his father's honour. The story of the reconciliation is full of unconscious humour. It is also useful in that it provides a glimpse of that type of violent hot-headed planter with a 'dignity complex' which afterwards chafed Codrington to exasperation. After presenting a memorial to the Council, the complainant in February 1699 induced his relative, Lord Lucas, to act as mediator between himself and Codrington.[1] He hoped on the one hand to secure from the King a remission of his fine, and also to persuade Codrington that they should 'give one another a general release and undertake to observe an honourable, just, due, and agreeable behaviour towards each other in the future'.[2] But Codrington refused to pass the matter over so lightly. Whatever his father's faults had been, Lucas's letter had been grossly insulting. He was determined to exact at least an apology. It was not surprising therefore, that Lord Lucas failed to arrange a settlement. On the 9th of March the Antiguan endeavoured to apply further pressure by submitting his proposals to the Council. In the interview which followed the latter evidently said some very unpalatable things, and Lucas went away sorrowful, asking time for consideration.[3] A few days later the Council put their suggestion in writing. 'We believe', they wrote, 'it will be most conducing to a good understanding between Mr. Lucas and Col. Codrington, that Mr. Lucas do acknowledge his having unadvisedly used divers passionate and reflecting expressions upon the honour of General Codrington deceased, and that he is sorry for the same.'[4] Straight-

[1] *Ibid.*, 1699, Nos. 63, 154.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 158.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 168, 179.
[4] Council of Trade to John Lucas (16 March 1699), *ibid.*, No. 184.

way the planter flared up in indignation. He had never used any such reflecting expressions; and as for the accusations which he had made, they were well known, and he could not with safety to his reputation in Antigua go back on them.[1]

His next move is amusing. He informed the Board that as he understood that Colonel Codrington had submitted the dispute to their arbitration, he was prepared to do the same. In point of fact Codrington had *not* done so; but Lucas evidently felt that the statement saved his face. On the 14th of April Codrington called at Whitehall and informed their Lordships that he was equally ready to accept their ruling.[2] A fortnight later he called again, and was informed of the Council's decision to release Lucas from all implications in return for an apology. To this he readily agreed.[3] The final scene of reconciliation took place before the Board on the 2nd of May. 'Mr. Lucas declared', the Journal records, 'that finding it is the opinion of their Lordships that the letter to Admiral Nevil concerning the late Col. Codrington is writ in an unfit and undecent stile, he acknowledged his error in having used divers passionate expressions reflecting upon the honour of the said Governor.' Codrington immediately responded with generosity, promising 'in the future to live with him in all manner of fairness and friendship', and giving him a warrant, signed and sealed, which released him from paying the £2,000 damages.[4] The episode seems a trivial one, arising from personal rancour and offended

[1] John Lucas to the Council of Trade (17 March), *ibid.*, No. 187; cf. No. 190.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 233, 249, 255.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 318.

[4] *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 335. Cf. the Council's Report to the King (4 May): 'Mr. Lucas has made such acknowledgements of his disrespectful behaviour to General Codrington as that his son, Governor Codrington, has voluntarily discharged him for the judgement of £2000' (*ibid.*, No. 344).

dignity. And yet it touches one of the fundamentals of the old colonial empire. Combine this factious stiff-necked attitude of the planter with an overbearing one on the part of the governor, and a reaction results which is one of the prime factors of colonial dissension. In this case it was important that a reconciliation should have taken place, so that Codrington could start square. Unfortunately there was more than one John Lucas in the Leeward Islands.

A more troublesome affair was a wrangle with the Treasury. As already indicated, he was bitterly angry at the stigma cast upon the good name of his father. 'I shall take effectual care', he afterwards wrote, 'my reputation do not suffer for want of due enquiry, as my father's did. . . . Y^e^ base and barbarous usage he met with give mee sufficient reason to be very jealous and to be upon my guard even before I am attaq'ut.'[1] The elder Codrington had died with four years' salary and other large sums due to him from the Government. Indeed he had borne a considerable share of the expense of the campaigns in which he had fought so valiantly, out of his own pocket. When, therefore, the Treasury showed no signs of paying, the son firmly refused to go to the West Indies until they did. Throughout the autumn of 1699 protracted negotiations took place. On the 12th of October Codrington, his agent Hutchinson, Povey his father's agent, and the Customs Commissioners were all called in to give evidence as to how much General Codrington had received from the 4½ per cent. duty in the Leeward Islands. After a month's further discussion, the Lords of the Treasury declared themselves satisfied on this count. But a number of smaller items were still outstanding.[2] The delay was serious, for Codrington's presence in the

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade, C.O. 152/4, No. 46 (P.R.O.).

[2] *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697–1702*, pp. 333–4. The entry in the minute book (*Treasury Papers*, vol. ix) is twenty-one pages in length.

Indies was urgently needed.[1] When the Council of Trade in November demanded to know why he had not departed, he explained that he could not help it; the fault lay with the Treasury.[2]

Shortly afterwards a serious illness overtook him, from which he did not recover until the following February. As soon as he was strong enough to write, he hastened to reply to a further summons from the Council. 'If a long fit of sickness had not hindered me,' he wrote, 'I should not have stayed for your Lordship's summons but should have waited on you myself. I am very anxious to be gone to my Government; my private interest suffers very much by my stay here, and the money I so justly and have so long expected from the Treasury will not compensate the losses occasioned by these delays.' Nevertheless, he was determined not to give way. Once he was on the other side of the Atlantic his chance of recovering the money, as he well knew, would be small indeed. 'My right', he added, 'to what I demand from the Treasury is incontestable, viz., four years' salary due to my father, and I cannot possibly leave England till I have received it. After that, I am prepared to go on board at two days' warning.'[3]

Meantime, he was doing useful work in dealing with a mass of correspondence from the Leeward Colonies and in advising the Council of Trade on matters concerning those islands. Therein he shows a fund of common sense, spiced with humour. In accordance with the Treaty of Ryswick, the French part of St. Kitts which had been conquered in 1693 was retro-

[1] His Commission had been drafted in April (*Cal. Col.* 1699, No. 236) and formally issued on the 13th of May (*ibid.*, No. 382), and his Instructions, after long negotiations with Codrington himself on the constitution of the island Councils, on the 7th of September (*ibid.*, No. 766).

[2] *Ibid.* (6 November), No. 930.

[3] Codrington to the Council of Trade (29 February 1700), C.O. 152/3, No. 57 (P.R.O.).

ceded.[1] As happened so often on these occasions, complications arose. The French Commissioners demanded the restitution of all French negroes captured by the English during the war, as well as a number of free negroes who had escaped from Guadeloupe to Antigua. At the same time they refused to surrender other slaves who had escaped back to their French masters.[2] Pressed by the English planters, Codrington, on the 30th of June 1699, wrote to the Council of Trade pointing out the vital importance of slave-labour and urging that the French should not be allowed to retain those who had returned to Guadeloupe, even though they offered to pay for them.[3] The Council replied by forwarding to him all the pertinent documents, and asking for his further advice thereon. His judgement, after perusing the French claims, was scathing. All negroes captured during the war were the valid possessions of the conquerors. Those captured slaves who had escaped back to Guadeloupe were the property of the English, and must be returned. The pretence that they had fled back to their French masters because of their religion was nonsense. 'Suppose, my Lords, five hundred or a thousand or ten thousand negroes should get off Barbadoes to Martineque and apply themselves to y^e^ Monks and should desire to be baptised, y^e^ monks would undoubtedly admit them to Baptism, and y^e^ negroes would of course be good Roman Catholics; the French might then say, though they could not keep our negroes as Slaves, yet they were obliged to protect them as Men and Christians desiring to live as good

[1] See Copy of William III's Commission to General Codrington, ordering him to surrender 'all that Part of the Island of St. Kitts, which was in the actual possession and Occupation of the Subjects of the said King [of France] before the said late Warr, and to Remove from thence, all our Subjects wth. their Goods, Merchandizes and other effects . . .' (3 January 1698. Egerton MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 2395, f. 677).

[2] Copies of two letters from the Marquis d'Amblimont (*Cal. Col.*, 1699, Nos. 74, ix and xi).

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 576.

Roman Catholicks, and who, if restored to y^e^ English, would not be allowed y^e^ practice of y^t^ Religion. After this y^e^ negroes in pure gratitude might be persuaded to resign their freedom and become slaves to the French.' As to the question of the free negroes who had left Guadeloupe for Antigua, *credat Judaeus Apella* was his comment. To return them to French servitude would be as unjust as to retain them in English slavery: they must be allowed to go where they pleased.[1]

Shortly afterwards another interesting suggestion was put forward. Writing to the Council in June 1700, he pointed out the serious situation that would arise in the Leeward Islands if Colonel Fox's regiment of regulars was disbanded. The single remaining company stationed at St. Christopher would be virtually useless. Could not Fox's ex-soldiers be settled on the land after the manner of Roman garrisons? The windward side of Antigua had been deserted by the planters because of frequent inroads by Caribs from Dominica and St. Lucia. A military settlement would at once provide added security for the island, and also increase its resources. 'I would endeavour', he promised, 'jointly with y^e^ Council and Assembly to settle the men there as Planters, by allowing them such proportions of land as would be sufficient to support them, which would necessarily be done by choosing tradesmen or otherwise industrious and useful men for these two companies.'[2]

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (10 July 1699), C.O. 152/3, No. 32 (P.R.O.).

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (5 June 1700), C.O. 152/3, No. 72 (P.R.O.). The Council's reply was as follows: 'Ordered that the Secretary acquaint him, whenever he calls, that the King having settled his military establishment there to consist only of One Company in St. Christopher's, this Board cannot at this time propose any alteration therein; but that, as for those that are to be disbanded, if he can make such dispatch to arrive there time enough and be able to persuade all or any of them to remain and settle in Antigua or any other of those Islands, it will be very well' (*Cal. Col.*, 1700, No. 493).

At last, by the middle of May, Codrington was able to inform their Lordships that the Treasury had paid over the money due to him, and he was ready to depart for the Indies. Would they, therefore, arrange with the Admiralty to provide a passage in one of the men-of-war which was about to sail thither?[1] Yet when July came, he was still in London. The Admiralty had failed to provide the required passage. The Council, for their part, were waxing impatient; and all the more so because Colonel Fox, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, had hastened to the Leeward Islands and insisted on taking over from the President and Council of Nevis until Codrington should arrive.[2] Moreover, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General had upheld the legality of Fox's action in contradiction to the Council of Trade.[3] Much, therefore, as they might love him, their Lordships wished Codrington five thousand miles away. Incidentally, too, the long delay provided Blackmore with an opportunity to gibe.

> As he wrote Epigrams for Ladies Smiles,
> And govern'd in B[ow] street the Leeward Isles.[4]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And now he rides a Tiptoe in his Coach,
> Frowning at every Hack that dares approach;

Codrington himself was very anxious to be gone. It was now two years since his father had died, and the family plantations were in urgent need of supervision. Eventually he secured a berth in a merchantman bound

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1700, Nos. 302, 434, 439, 441, 446.

[2] 'Collonel Fox is made lieutenant governor of the Leeward Islands, under Col. Codrington, and is preparing to goe thither with speed' (14 December 1699, Luttrell's *Diary*, vol. iv, pp. 593–4).

[3] Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1700, Nos. 373, 705. On being asked to reconsider their decision, the Law Officers agreed that Fox's position might be doubtful (*ibid.*, Nos. 968, 969). It was finally ordered that all Acts passed by Fox were to be again laid before the respective Councils and assemblies by Codrington (*ibid.*, No. 972).

[4] *Discommendatory Verses* (*ut supra*).

for Barbados. On the 16th of August he took leave of the Council and embarked next morning at Gravesend.[1]

As the bark stood away westward down the Channel, Codrington was very literally turning his back on the Old World and facing the New. Behind were the years of preparation: in front, grave responsibilities. He was about to assume the leadership of one of the most hot-headed communities within the Empire, and at a time when their very existence was threatened by war. The old colonial system was a machine that was out of gear. Under such conditions ability of an exceptionally high order was needed in the local administration.

Such being the test, it remains to see how this complex admixture of scholar, gallant, poet, and soldier acquitted himself. A wide knowledge of men had been gained, ranging from the fop with his powdered peruke to the blaspheming guardsman in Flanders. His military skill, genial manner, and high sense of honour were also invaluable assets. There were, however, dangerous weaknesses. His very brilliance and ease of achievement tended to arrogance and impatience of men more limited. Moreover, a nervous temperament, such as his, was not the best type for an isolated community, where contact breeds friction, and friction friction again. When unjustly attacked, he was not sufficiently thick-skinned or detached to endure the sting with equanimity. Just because he was hurt so deeply, he was wont to strike back the more violently; and with sorry results to himself.

None the less he was a man of outstanding merit. Under the searching scrutiny of his mind, one little corner of human history lives again. As men move in and out of that light, the hopes and fears, the worth and worthlessness is sharply revealed, alike of negroes, planters, and politicians, and not the least of himself.

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1700, No. 720. Cf. Nos. 607, 680.

VI

REFORM IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS
(September 1700–2)

THE cloistered peace of Oxford, the footlights of Drury Lane, the ladies and the wits, are left behind. Codrington was never to see England again. His letters show beyond doubt that this sojourn in the wilderness was intended to be only a short one, and undertaken for two reasons. As a Governor-General greater opportunities would occur of striking a blow in the coming war with France. Secondly, he knew well enough that unless he personally overhauled his newly inherited plantations, very little of the profits would find their way to him. An interlude then; one more campaign in a wider sphere of action; then back to books and the whirl of social gaiety.

Five stormy years lay before him, full of heavy responsibility—years of war, illness, and disappointment. Then a solitary retirement in Barbados. Yet it is just these five years that make his life-story so worth the telling; for in them we come to grips with the man himself. For the first time we are in possession of a connected series of his letters, and like their author they are intensely alive. Salted with dry humour or biting sarcasm, they penetrate incisively to the root of the matter in hand. Furthermore, there is an opportunity of studying imperial problems through the experience of a contemporary official who was uniquely equipped. When a man speaks who is at once a brilliant scholar, an accomplished soldier, and one familiar alike with European statecraft and colonial politics, his judgement is worthy of careful consideration. The great majority of the criticisms which he offers, and the reforms which he suggests, apply not only to the West Indies but to

all the American Colonies, and even in later years to Canada.

The situation in the Leeward Islands on Codrington's arrival there in September 1700 can be summed up in one word—confusion. The strong hand of the elder Codrington had been removed in an unquiet time when rumours of a new war with France was the chief item of gossip in every planter's house; and men's hearts failed them for fear. The French, re-established in St. Christopher by the Treaty of Ryswick, were a standing menace to their weaker neighbours, who were ill-armed and with their forts and platforms lying in decay. Yet regardless of their peril the islanders were foolishly trading with their rivals in that island, selling them beef and other commodities which they needed while resettling. For the sake of immediate gain the English were cutting the ground from under their own feet. The Navigation Acts were being openly flouted. Trade with the Dutch at Curaçoa—so familiar a feature of the eighteenth century—was unrestrained. Provided that the planter stopped the mouths of the Customs officers and the Lieutenant-Governor with sufficient gold, he might sell his sugar wherever he had a mind. Trade with England, too, was being stifled by the difficulty of securing settlements for debt in the disordered Law Courts. Such were the obstructions put in their way that English merchants found it almost impossible to recover their debts. Judges, juries, and attorneys worked hand in glove to prevent anything so drastic. Finally, the planters at St. Christopher were suffering a tyranny that was violent even for the West Indies, under their Lieutenant-Governor, James Norton.

Well aware of the state of affairs, Codrington lost no time in showing that he intended to stamp out these evils without fear or favour. Establishing his head-quarters at Antigua, he made a tour of the islands under

his command. In each he received a warm welcome and flattering addresses from the respective Councils and Assemblies:[1] and in each he gave the same promise and the same warning. He had come among them to rule, not merely as General Codrington's son but as the impartial representative of imperial authority. 'I endeavoured to satisfye them', he wrote home, 'I was sincerely determined to doe them all y^e^ real service I could within y^e^ bounds of my Instructions, and y^e^ Laws of Trade; that I aim'd at noe little advantages, nor expected any reward.' Good laws for reorganizing the militia, for purifying the judicial system, for encouraging immigration of English settlers, and so on, he would sanction without being eased thereto by means of a present. But no amount of bribery or intimidation would induce him to wink at illegality or injustice. In particular he was determined to have the Acts of Trade 'rigorously put in execution'.[2] So uncompromising a stand naturally provoked strong opposition from interested quarters. His reply was to publish a declaration throughout the islands, reaffirming his determination. 'I shall continue to do my duty', he wrote, 'whoever is pleased or displeased at it.' And, as we shall see, his deeds were no less strong than his words.

While at St. Christopher, the new Governor-General was faced with the unpleasant duty of holding a court of inquiry on the conduct of Lieutenant-Governor Norton. Some months before, the inhabitants had addressed a petition to the Lords Justices of England, urging that a commission of planters should be set up to inquire into his misdemeanours.[3] The Council for

[1] 'The Addresses I had on this Occasion', he reported to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 'were too fulsome to please me or to be laid before yr. Lordships' (11 January 1701, C.O. 152/4, No. 11, P.R.O.).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1700, No. 658, i (referred to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 25 July).

Trade and Plantations, to whom the matter was referred, ordered Codrington to nominate the commission, as desired, and to transmit the evidence with his report thereon.[1] The case is worthy of notice, for it serves to illustrate what was, after all, one of the root causes of the ultimate breakdown of the old colonial system. A whole host of circumstances, social, economic, and political, combined to make that system a jolting, jarring machine at the best of times. But many a defective machine contrives to work tolerably well in the hands of skilful mechanics. It was the misfortune of the old Empire that important positions overseas were filled not, as a rule, by able administrators promoted for experience and integrity, but by place-hunters.

The case of Norton is an extreme one, but it illustrates a general evil nevertheless. As soon as Codrington arrived at St. Christopher he discovered such a ferment against Norton for his greed and violence that 'it would be impossible to put the poor ruined people of that island into any tolerable order whilst he continued at their head'.[2] The trial itself, at which Norton was given every opportunity to defend himself, proved the indictments up to the hilt. Arbitrary imprisonments, extortion, and flagrant abuse of the law had been the order of the day. On one occasion he had bullied George Leonard, governor of the little island of Anguilla, into signing indentures of servitude. 'After which he was forced to work in the fields as a slave, almost naked and half starved. Once or twice a week Col. Norton caused him to be whipt in the pillory and the pickle of beef brine to be put on his sores.' Such things, wrote Codrington in his report, would make their Lordships angry. 'Some other passages would make you smile, for the noble Govern[r] wou'd con-

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1700, Nos. 773 (11 September) and 795 (25 September).
[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 13 (received 7 April 1701).

descend to plunder even for a pound of soap, as well as sho buckles.'[1]

Norton was accordingly suspended, and, on refusing to enter into recognizances of £1,500 to answer the charges brought against him, was committed to the custody of the Provost Marshal. Codrington's findings were approved by the home authorities, and Norton was dismissed from his post.[2] An appeal was lodged by him against these proceedings; but fortunately for himself, he changed his mind, and settled down to a planter's life.[3]

Codrington was now free to launch his campaign of reorganization and reform. As he had already warned the islanders, a strict and impartial application of the Laws of Trade was to be his first care. The task was a stupendous one, as every honest Governor found to his cost. Not a single official could be trusted for faithful support. 'I'm sure', he wrote in one dispatch, 'if yo^{r} Lords^{ps} knew all the folly and Knavery I have to strugle wth, especially in relation to y^{e} Acts of Trade, you w^{d} pity me. The dissorder in our Trade is so great, y^{t} I almost despair of doing any good in it, there is so much ignorance, laziness or Corruption in Naval and Customhouse officers, and so gen^{ll} a Conspiracy in People of all ranks and qualitys here to elude y^{e} Acts of Trade, y^{t} I have y^{e} Mortification of Knowing a hundred things are done every day, (w^{ch} I cannot possibly prevent), prejudicial to y^{e} trade and interest of England.'[4] Intercourse with the Dutch at Curaçoa and the French islands was little less than an open

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 13, i.

[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1701, Nos. 390, 405, 418.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1088, i, and 1133. It had been intended to proceed against him under the Acts 7 and 8 William III for violation of the Laws of Trade, under which if convicted he would have forfeited £1,000. But owing to a technical difficulty the matter was dropped (*ibid.*, No. 507).

[4] C.O. 152/4, No. 21, P.R.O. (5 May 1701).

trade. Seizures of foreign goods were numerous, though not nearly as many as Codrington desired. Many consignments, for example, of French linen had been seized; but twenty times as many would have been taken, 'if they had not been shuffled away and concealed by some English well-wishers to y^e^ smuggling trade.'[1]

It was indeed a problem prevailing in every colony throughout the Empire. Unless there existed on the one hand a spirit of willing co-operation among the colonists, or on the other an elaborate imperial police system on the high seas and in the colonies themselves, the Navigation Acts were bound to fail as a working system. The former condition never existed: the latter was an impossible luxury. That persuasion and not coercion was his only chance of success Codrington evidently realized. After nearly a year of persistent effort he was able to report that illicit trade had been in a great measure stamped out, but only by 'persuading y^e^ best sort of people to give it over'.[2]

Successful though he had been, this revolt against the imperial economy was a disquieting experience which led Codrington to detect and point out one of the chief weaknesses of the administrative system. Colonial governors were required to enforce unpalatable laws while drawing inadequate salaries. The result was almost inevitable. In nine cases out of ten they supplemented their deficient incomes with substantial bribes and winked at the violation of those laws, or worse still engaged in the illegal trade themselves. Again and again Codrington wrote to the Council for Trade and Plantations urging this point. To be an

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 12, P.R.O. (12 January 1701).

[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 42, P.R.O. (18 August 1701). He was, however, unable to prevent the English on St. Christopher from selling provisions (which did not come within the scope of the Acts) to their French neighbours on that island (*ibid.*).

honest governor was costing him £1,500 a year out of his own pocket. The King's representative must be able to 'live of his own', if he is to govern removed from temptation or fear. It is indeed the same cry that re-echoes constantly in the early years of British rule alike in America, Canada, and India.

'Whilst Governors', declared Codrington, 'are dependent on their Assemblies, the Acts of Trade will never be observ'd. What I say, I know to be true, 'tis left to your Lordships whether you will believe me. If you knew who were y^e^ leading men in the several Assemblys, you would be convinced y^t^ Governors ought to have better salarys and not permitted to take any presents from the people. Whilst they doe, there will be illegal indulgences in point of trade, Justice will be bought and sold, Chancery protracted and the poor opprest.'[1] Within three weeks he returned to the charge. 'If I had not an estate here', he wrote, 'I asure your Lordships I wou'd not serve in the Government for two thousand pounds a year, and I must venture to be thought impertinent by your Lordships in saying to you agen that the Colonys abroad will be then govern'd as they ought to be, when Governors are made independent of their Assemblys, and after that Hanged up when they don't do their duty.'[2] The unscrupulous make their fortunes, while the honest man is like to be beggared. 'My salary is not the fourth part of my expense,' he wrote some months later. 'But in respect of Governours who come abroad to make their fortunes, . . . Acts of Trade, Instructions and all your Lordships' wise and good Orders to them are *verba et praeterea nihil*.'[3]

Nor must it be thought that the home authorities were deaf to these repeated representations. Upright

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 11 (11 January 1701).
[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 18 (30 January 1701).
[3] C.O. 152/4, No. 47 (25 August 1701).

Governors, such as Bellomont of New York and Dudley of Massachusetts, had been telling the same tale. In April 1702 the Council of Trade and Plantations proposed that the salary of the Governor of the Leeward Islands should be raised from £700 to £1,200, to be paid out of the 4½ per cent. duty,[1] while the Lieutenant-Governors of Antigua, Nevis, St. Christopher, and Montserrat should receive £200 a year from the same source. In return the receiving of presents from the Assemblies would be forbidden. Unfortunately, however, the tax only raised £3,000 per annum, a sum which was insufficient to meet these new charges in addition to routine expenses. It was therefore left to the ministers to devise some other means of raising the required money. Had success attended their efforts, subsequent colonial history might well have been very different.

A similar matter, which called for Codrington's immediate attention, was the grave disorder existing in the judicial administration. The courts, inefficient and ridden with corruption, were notorious. To the discerning eye of the Middle Templar the whole machine needed drastic overhauling. The first step, however, was to clear away the mass of impending lawsuits—cases which had been repeatedly adjourned by dilatory judges. With characteristic energy Codrington set to work, visiting each island in turn. At Nevis, for example, it was commonly said that he had 'dispatcht more business and done more justice in three weeks than had been done in thirty years before'.[2] The new broom, indeed, was working wondrously well: but the manner of the sweeping was not calculated to encourage

[1] The imposition of the 4½ per cent. duty had been accepted by the planters during the régime of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, in the reign of Charles II, in return for the abolition of the proprietary dues (cf. my *History of Barbados*, Clarendon Press, 1925).

[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 36 (30 June 1701).

others. We can agree and admire when he states, 'I think I have acted with the sincerity of a magistrate in a Platonick Commonwealth. . . . I have refused all presents, public and private, I have defended the poor against y^e^ rich, and done justice to servants against their masters.'[1] But those corrupt officials, whom he contemptuously describes as 'Little animales who call themselves Lawyers', would hardly be so enthusiastic.

The process of overhauling the system itself proved a much more complicated task. Indeed, the new Governor was again face to face with one of the chief problems of the Empire. When a new community springs up across the sea, what relationship must its legal system bear with that of the Mother Country? On the one hand, if the original conception that all Englishmen constitute one economic and political unit was to be maintained some degree of uniformity must prevail. Tenure of land, recovery of debts, and so on must be worked by similar rules. On the other hand, climatic, social, and other conditions were fundamentally different. Codrington himself quickly realized that it was the uncertainty prevailing on this fundamental point which was responsible for much of the confusion. Upon inquiry as to 'how far and whether or noe Acts of Parliament as such are obligatory here', he found that the opinions of such eminent lawyers as Lord Chief Justice Treby and Lord Pemberton were contradictory. One Chancery case in Barbados had lasted fifteen years, 'purely by reason of this uncertainty'. Nor could he obtain a definite answer from the home authorities. In matters of equity (in which no mention was made in his Commission or Instructions) Codrington determined to strike out for himself. 'I have read everything', he reported, 'both in print and manuscript I could procure relating to Chancery from Sir Thomas Moor down to this day, and after a great deal of thought

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 36 (30 June 1701).

have prepared something that I hope to get formed into an Act.'[1]

Equally constructive was the scheme which he outlined for the reform of the Common Law Courts. The most glaring defect was that each island had its own peculiar mode of procedure, a circumstance which gave rise to endless bickering and culpable delay. Codrington accordingly endeavoured to establish a regular and uniform system throughout the Leeward Islands, but immediately found himself thwarted by the intense localism of the planters. The Council and Assembly of Nevis would not have their laws modified one iota. The only alternative was to apply the Nevis procedure to all the rest. But this the Governor-General was determined not to do; 'for the proceedings settled by it are very delatory, and the manner of execution downright roguery. So that our former confusion was infinitely preferable to such a regularity.'[2] He was not without hope, however, that the inhabitants (who really desired to put things on a more equitable basis) would eventually see reason, and accordingly laid his proposed legislation with an explanatory preface before the Nevis Assembly. Unfortunately the clamour of war began to drown the quiet voice of reform before Codrington's wishes were fulfilled.

The laws themselves then were defective. It was doubly unfortunate, therefore, that those entrusted with their administration were extremely ignorant. 'There is more Ignorance than Corrupc̃on amongst us,' Codrington declared. 'I have seen Verdicts, Judgem^{ts}, and indeed whole processes soe very monstrous that I cou'd not but at first suspect them to proceed from Villany and bribery, when upon further examinac̃on I had reason to remaine satisfied they were the Medly offspring of wrong principles, irregular methods and

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 55 (10 November 1701).
[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 73 (30 December 1701).

want of discernm[t].'[1] Yet obstinate ignorance was almost as difficult to counter as deliberate dishonesty. What with ignorant judges, secretaries, and marshals, and perverse inefficient juries, a thorough reformation was not to be effected without a great deal of pains and resolution. 'What I endeavour to introduce is a plain and summary practise equally degage [*sic*] from incertainty and disorder, on the one hand, and a useless nicety and chicane on the other.'[2]

The difficulty was to find a competent personnel. In a rich and populous colony such as Barbados the remedy was simple. In that island there was always a supply of good lawyers, educated at the universities and Inns of Court, 'who can find out the Law for the Judges, when they can't find it out for themselves'—a remedy not altogether unknown at English Petty Sessions to-day. But in the impoverished Leeward Islands it was a different matter. Codrington's solution was twofold: to have a really competent Attorney-General sent out from England and, secondly, only to promote the very best men from among the planters, into whom he would endeavour to infuse 'a spirit of honest ambition to qualify themselves for their imploys'.[3]

Codrington in fact was successfully handling a grave problem which was at this time attracting much attention in England, and his suggestions and reforms met with the warm approval of the authorities.[4]

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 93 (3 April 1702).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* Codrington had brought out with him a certain Mr. Brunskill to act as Attorney-General, who had rendered valuable services. After his death Codrington on many occasions petitioned for a man of similar capabilities to be sent out in his stead (*Cal. Col.*, 1701, Nos. 401, 600, 997).

[4] In 1700 Mr. Hodges of Barbados had written a pamphlet entitled *The Present State of Justice in the American Plantations and particularly in Barbadoes with some thoughts how the same may be amended* (printed in *Cal. Col.*, 1700, No. 751), which had been published in

Economic and judicial reform was supplemented by useful work on the social side. One of the standing reproaches against the West Indian planter was his generally brutal treatment of negro slaves. As so often happens, this harshness was the outcome of fear. On every island there was an ever-present dread of a black rebellion, aiming at a wholesale massacre of the white community. The wildest rumour of such a rising was sufficient to arouse the most savage reprisals. Fear bred cruelty; and cruelty in its turn fomented flaming hatred among the Africans. An incident which occurred about this time in Antigua reveals Codrington's view of the matter. On the 27th of December 1701 about eight o'clock in the forenoon some fifteen negroes belonging to Major Martin came up to his chamber-door and fell on him with knives and bills in the presence of his wife and other English people belonging to the plantation. Despite his wife's gallant intervention Martin was barbarously murdered, the assailants cutting off his head, 'which' (an eye-witness reported) 'we afterwards took up in the grass, where they had washed it with rum and triumphed over it'.[1] Naturally the outrage provoked horror and consternation among

London in a slightly different form under the title *Plantation Justice* (cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1701, Introd., pp. liii–liv). Therein the author examines the origin and causes of the existing maladministration. One quotation may perhaps be permitted. 'It is grown a proverb with the English merchants that, if a man goes over never so honest to the Plantations, yet the very air does change him in a short time. But it is not the air; it is the universal corruption of Justice.' Codrington himself in criticizing the pamphlet for the benefit of the Council of Trade and Plantations admits the general truth of the charges, but declares (as stated above) that in the Leeward Islands the cause was not dishonesty but ignorance (C.O. 152/4, No. 93). Owing to the public attention being thus aroused the House of Commons in April 1701 ordered a return to be made on the administration of Justice in the Plantations (*Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 300).

[1] Mr. Gamble to Codrington (29 December 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 73, ii.

the Antiguans. The recent report of a negro plot discovered at Barbados, coupled with their own lack of arms and ammunition, raised widespread panic.

Codrington's view is illuminating. Horrible though the event was, Major Martin's tactlessness and severity had been courting trouble. The negroes in question were Corramantes, a warlike and intrepid race. 'Not one of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated.' 'My Father,' he adds, 'who had studied y^{e} genius and temper of all kinds of negroes forty-five years with a very nice observation, would say, noe Man deserv'd a Corramante y^{t} w^{d} not treat Him like a Friend rather than a Slave.' Such treatment had resulted in an undying affection for the elder Codrington, to whose tomb his own Corramantes paid regular visits, lamenting and making libations, and promising that 'when they have done working for his son they will come to Him and be his faithful slaves in y^{e} other World'.[1] Not that either father or son regarded every negro as fit to be treated as a bosom companion. But they had imagination and were humane, which is more than can be said for many of their contemporaries.

The son himself was a firm believer in the wisdom and rightness of slavery, but strongly opposed the planter view that to teach negroes Christianity and the English language was only facilitating revolt by binding them together. Already in 1699 he had embodied his views in a definite scheme which, though not adopted at the time, shows that his subsequent foundation of Codrington College in Barbados was the fruit of long observation and thought. Promiscuous proselytizing, as practised by the French Jesuits, was, he argued, both unwise and hypocritical, especially when accompanied

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (30 December 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 73, i.

by brutal treatment. 'I have always thought it very barbarous', he then wrote, 'that so little care should be taken of y^e^ bodies and so much of y^e^ souls of our poor slaves.' Moreover, ''tis certain the Christening of our negroes without y^e^ instructing of them would be useless to themselves and pernicious to their masters'. The few and ill-qualified clergymen who go out to the West Indies are quite unfitted for the task: indeed they can 'do noe service to the white heathens they find there by their teaching or example'. Then—as always with Codrington—a concrete suggestion was offered, and one which illustrates his firm belief in the spiritual efficacy of a monastic mode of life.[1] It is the bounden duty, he is convinced, of a Christian nation to propagate Christian truths, but superficial conversions are an abomination. As missionaries, secular clergy 'who will be sure of their hire before they set about their task' would be worse than useless. He therefore humbly proposed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, that if they would send out 'regular' clergy under vows of poverty and obedience—'Apostolical men who are willing to take much pains for little reward'—then he would do his utmost to further the project. 'I am very sincere in this matter and will have nothing to answer for; as an inconsiderate zeal shall not put me upon an attempt y^t^ will not answer its end, so noe Consideration of Interest shall hinder me from promoting boldly and impartially a Design y^t^ may be pleasing to God and truly beneficial to my fellow-creatures.'[2] Codrington, however, found himself thwarted by the stubborn opposition of the planters, who far from agreeing to having their slaves educated, even refused to pass laws which imposed anything heavier than a small fine when a slave was deliberately

[1] Cf. the terms of the foundation of Codrington College, Barbados (Will in App. A).

[2] Codrington to William Popple (26 May 1699), C.O. 152/3, No. 23.

murdered. He was in fact far ahead of his time. Yet the idea was never abandoned, and eventually found notable expression.

In dealing with the white population Codrington evinced the same sagacity and insight. Ever since the introduction of sugar manufacture in the West Indies, the concentration of land-ownership had increased by leaps and bounds. To open up a sugar plantation involved heavy expenditure and consequently required large reserves of capital. The inevitable result had been the squeezing out of the small-holder. Sturdy and numerous white communities had been replaced by multitudes of negro labourers ruled by a handful of European owners and overseers. If the English islands were to continue as virile colonies (in the true sense of that word) independent of foreign rivals, that middle class would have to be reconstituted. Many remedies had been suggested to obviate this danger, and Codrington's was as feasible as any. In St. Christopher, where the tenure of land was still in disorder, wealthy 'capitalists' had bought up large estates, great areas of which were lying uncultivated. Codrington accordingly persuaded the Assembly there to pass an Act imposing special taxes on all unsettled land. 'And soe', he reported, 'I hope to provide for a great many five or ten acre-men, which is the true strength of these Colonies.'[1] Again he wrote: 'If we have a Peace, I shall chiefly apply myself to strengthen the Islands by the lesser Planters.'[2]

'If we have a peace.' Had such been the case, had Codrington's far-reaching reforms been completed, the Leeward Islands would have been fashioned into a state of order and contentment which they had not known from their first settlement. Unfortunately it

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade and Plantations (10 November 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*

was to be war—a war which decimated the population and made shipwreck of the Governor.

It was obvious that another war with Louis XIV of France was only a matter of time, and before leaving England Codrington had done his best to prepare for the eventuality. As early as October 1699 he had reported the inadequacy of the fortifications.[1] In the following June he had (as we have seen) put forward a scheme for supplementing the regular garrisons by settling two hundred ex-soldiers after the fashion of the Roman *veterani*, and granting them allotments of land[2]—a scheme which was eventually approved and put into operation.[3] Furthermore, on leaving England he had taken with him 'a great many stand of arms, stores, and ammunition to recruit the forces there',[4] subsequently petitioning through his agent, Richard Cary, for additional supplies.[5]

Despite these precautions, however, the militia of the Leeward Islands was found to be in a bad condition, so ill-armed and lacking in discipline as to be incapable of resisting a French attack. Early in the spring of 1701 news arrived of a probable rupture with France, and Codrington redoubled his efforts to prepare for the contest. He immediately sailed from Antigua to the weak spot, St. Christopher, where, as he knew, the peril was extreme. The French there, well-armed and trained under the able leadership of Monsieur De Gennes, were concentrated in one central quarter about Basse Terre which was strongly entrenched. The English, on the other hand, living in the northern and southern extremities of the island with the French

1 *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 863 (13 October).

2 *Cal. Col.*, 1700, No. 499 (5 June).

3 'This very year [1701] I have prevailed here' to have an Act passed 'to provide land for y^e^ soldiers and other small settlers, and to furnish them with necessaries' (C.O. 152/4, No. 44).

4 Luttrell's *Diary* (1678–89, Oxford, 1857 edition), vol. iv, p. 682.

5 *Cal. Col.*, 1701, Nos. 474 and 475 (23 May).

between them, were in a weak strategic position, and were, moreover, faction-ridden and almost destitute of equipment. In fact so low was their morale that on the first noise of war the inhabitants had prepared for flight. It was only Codrington's speedy arrival and his promise to procure all possible assistance from the other islands that prevented a wholesale exodus. Even then the task of infusing single-handed a sense of discipline and martial ardour into a panic-stricken and disorderly rabble was a heavy task. Surrounded on every hand by mulish obstinacy and petty jealousy, Codrington toiled unceasingly: 'I'm sure', he wrote, 'if your Lordships knew all the folly and knavery I have to struggle with, you would pity me.'

At first the Governor met with a series of rebuffs. Nothing would persuade the recalcitrant planters to imitate the French by quitting their plantations on the windward side of the island and concentrating all their forces into one quarter. 'But as soon as y^e^ colours are flying and Martial Law begins, I shall make them know both their interest and their duty,' he wrathfully declared.[1] Fifty of the men, he found, had no arms at all, while the weapons of three times that number were scarcely fit for service. Yet how to procure more was a problem. The other Leeward Islands were ill-provided themselves, and all that could possibly be bought from Barbados amounted to forty-eight. Not a single pound of gunpowder remained in the island, the little there had been having been fired by Colonel Norton, 'When He and His Council and Assembly after falling out got drunk together and grew Friends agen.'[2] But these were minor difficulties compared with the spirit of narrow selfishness which he encountered. Acting on his Instructions, he applied to Barbados for

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (5 May 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*

the loan of the frigate and two hundred men. But Governor Grey replied that the Barbadians had refused to give any assistance.

For this Grey seems to have been partly to blame, for Barbados had been generous in the past. But downright greed was the root cause, as Codrington very well knew. 'I am very well satisfyd, my Lords, y^t^ Barbadoes has noe inclination to serve or save these Ilands. Nor have one of these Ilands to help Another; because if a Sugar Iland be lost, So much y^e^ les of y^e^ Commodity is made, and consequently y^e^ price is rais'd.'[1] The results of this refusal, which was soon known to every one, were serious. Widespread consternation in the Leeward Islands: still more ambitious scheming among the French, hitherto 'kept in awe by fear of the Barbadoes strength': and thirdly, a determination on the part of Nevis and Antigua that if the wealthy Barbadians would not do anything, neither would they. Religion on the other hand was chiefly responsible for a like attitude on the part of the men of Montserrat, who were mostly Irish Roman Catholics. When Codrington dispatched commissions thither to raise two companies for service at St. Kitts, 'not one man of the Irish would enlist himselfe.' In reply to a warm reproof the Governor and Council answered that they could not help it, the Irish being resolved not only to withhold assistance from their English neighbours, but if possible to hand over Montserrat to the French when war broke out. It was suspected that priests from the French Islands had been among them in disguise.[2] In fact there was just about the same degree of love among

[1] Same to same (18 August 1701), C.O. 152/4, Nos. 44, 44, i.

[2] Elrington to Codrington (quoted in Codrington's letter to the Council of Trade, 18 August 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 743. It is, however, a tribute to the respect in which Codrington was held that he eventually succeeded in persuading the Government of Montserrat to furnish monetary assistance in place of men.

the island colonies as between New England and Virginia.

In order to counter this suicidal attitude, Codrington urged the Home Government to unite all the islands under one Governor. As Mr. Grey of Barbados was about to resign, he was willing to undertake the task himself. He begs the Council of Trade not to think that he is hoping to grow rich by such a post—'if there be a Peace I w^{d} not continue here two years longer to be Vice Roy of y^{e} Indys'. But he would prefer to serve as lieutenant-general under some other commander-in-chief rather than rule the Leeward Islands in time of war, unsupported by Barbados. The suggestion was a sound one. In the old days when the Willoughbys had ruled the Windward and Leeward groups as one Government, Barbados had often given both lives and money on behalf of their weaker neighbours. The division had been made reluctantly and only after much pressure from Leeward planters and merchants. The results were sufficiently obvious; but a central government has never again been achieved.

Codrington was thus left to plough his lonely furrow. Throughout the summer months of 1701 he remained at St. Christopher, drilling, organizing, repairing forts, and above all inspiring. 'I have done all y^{t} it wd. have been possible for any man to have done in y^{e} same circumstances,' he declared. 'I can safely tell you I have been not onely General but Engineer, Serjt. and Corporall.'[1] Realizing the sort of man that they had to lead them, the planters began to pluck up courage and forget their feuds. Though mustering only 11,000 men all told, they agreed to very heavy taxation for the maintenance of three standing companies to attack the French. An even greater triumph for Codrington was the passing of similar legislation in Nevis and Montserrat.

[1] Addit. MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 34348, Letters to Secretary Vernon, f. 114, 7 June 1701 (also in C.O. 152/4, No. 30).

Accordingly, when the French General and Intendant came over from Martinique, hoping that the arrival of a French fleet under Monsieur de Coetlogon would intimidate the English at St. Kitts into agreeing to a neutrality in the event of war, Codrington rejected all their offers. When they became insistent, urging that they were already masters of the sea, that another powerful fleet under Monsieur de Château Renault was daily expected, and that they did not wish to ruin a few miserable planters, he sent them about their business. 'I told them', he reported, 'whenever they made me a visit, I should not fail to give them a Hearty Welcome, y^{t} we should not think of another Neutrality, until we had forgot y^{e} Good Effects of y^{e} last, and y^{t} henceforwards the English would take care to meet their Enemys with their Eyes open and their Swords in their hands.'[1]

The situation, he knew, was still full of peril, and would continue so until an English fleet regained control of the Caribbean. Other affairs, however, were urgently calling him to Antigua, whither he went about the 9th of June. But he was ready to return to the scene of action at a moment's warning of any movement in the French fleet at Martinique. 'My Will is made', he wrote in November, 'and my house set in order, and if I hear of War at Midnight I shall visit M. des Gennes by break of day.'[2] The promise, as we shall see, was to be gallantly fulfilled.

At the same time Codrington was not the sort of enthusiast who allows his zeal to outrun his discretion. When the Council of Trade suggested that he should

[1] *Ibid.*, f. 135, 8 June 1701 (also in C.O. 152/4, No. 31).

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (10 November 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 55. (*N.B.* This was not the will which included the bequests to All Souls College, Oxford, and for the foundation of Codrington College, Barbados. Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1701, Introd., p. lvi.)

make his head-quarters at St. Christopher,[1] he answered that such a step would be unwise. In view of the imminence of war it was most important to keep the planters in a good humour. Irregularities were taking place which he could wink at from a distance, but not if he was on the spot. Moreover, he added, 'I have a very gallant but a very silly man for President, who deals better with Monsr. des Gennes than any Politician in Europe would do, for he confounds him with bad Latin and good Scotch, debauches away his soldiers and sends them off, and then blunders on with éclaerecssaisments [*sic*] y^{t} M. des Gennes knows not what to make of.'[2]

The business which drew Codrington back to Antigua was personal. Mr. Mead, the Customs Commissioner, had appealed against a decision of the Nevis Court to the Governor-General at Antigua. On arriving there to hear the appeal Codrington found that Mead had departed for London to complain against him and to blacken his reputation generally. The incident is worthy of attention in that the calumnies spread abroad in England permanently embittered his highly sensitive nature.

William Mead was one of the largest landowners in Nevis, and a man who by one means or another had gained a complete ascendancy over most of the chief men of the island. In previous years he had been senior councillor there. When, therefore, the Council of Trade in their official instructions to Codrington placed Mead at the bottom of the list of the new council, the latter was extremely exasperated.[3] The

[1] Council of Trade to Codrington (26 June 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 581.

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (10 November 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 55.

[3] Instructions to Christopher Codrington (7 September 1699), *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 766; Mead's protest (6 June 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 514; reply of the Council of Trade, *ibid.*, No. 663.

unwisdom of the action had been recognized by Codrington, who before leaving England had urged that probably Mead would be discouraged from serving at all.[1] Nevertheless, the injured man vented his spleen upon the new Governor-General. On the other hand Mead's corrupt and crooked dealings soon aroused Codrington's resentment. It was a mortifying thing for his Majesty's Commissioner of Customs to be caught in the act of smuggling and to have a sloop of his own and ten hogsheads of sugar condemned 'under his nose for want of doquet and register'.[2] Indeed, just before Mead's departure for London, Codrington had decided to suspend him from his office. 'Mr. Mead has indeed reason to be angry', he wrote, 'because he had been more absolute in Nevis before my arrivall then ever any Bashaw was, and thinks it a great encroachm[t] upon his antient priviledges to be w[th]in the reach of Law and Iustice.'[3]

The dispute upon which Mead eventually based his petition to the House of Commons arose in the following manner. While Codrington had been engaged during the spring of 1701 in his campaign for the purification of the Law Courts he had on one occasion attended the Court House at Nevis. On arrival he had intended to go into the gallery, but finding some gentlewomen there whom he was not willing to disturb, sat down with Colonel Elrington and Colonel Hamilton on a bench on the left hand of the judges. The cases up for hearing consisted of fourteen disputed land-tenures, the chief of which was that of *Herbert* v. *Mead*, which had been depending for no less than fifteen years. Herbert, a poor planter, had, it appeared, been wrongfully dispossessed of a planta-

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (14 Dec. 1699), *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 1058.

[2] Same to same (30 June 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 36.

[3] *Ibid.*

tion by Mead. A suit had been begun in 1686 and a verdict in favour of Herbert obtained in 1688. Then, the war following, there was some stop in the proceedings, which were again renewed in 1695. But Mead's powerful influence had repeatedly secured adjournment of the case, thus keeping Herbert out of possession.[1] The same farce was being again enacted on the occasion when Codrington was present. Mr. Brodric, counsel for Herbert, moved for an execution on the former judgement. But such a bandying about of legal terms took place, which the judges could make nothing of, that a new trial was resolved on, the plaintiff and defendant being ordered 'to enter in a rule'. Whereupon Mead shouted out that he would enter into no rule, that the estate was not his but an orphan's in England and he hoped they would take care of a poor orphan. 'And this he repeated,' wrote Codrington afterwards, 'together with his Councels in chorus; twenty times very insolently and indecently.'[2] Herbert's counsel thereupon retorted that he asked for nothing but what was plain law and constant practice. Either Mead must bind himself to accept the verdict of the new trial or judgement must go by default.

Immediately the court was in an uproar. Mead for his part played the card which had served him so well before. He was only the lessee of the orphan, Harvey: it was not for him to stand in the suit that was not directly his, and therefore he would not proceed to a trial. And when Brodric pressed for immediate judgement against him, he countered by asking the court for letters of guardianship. Then further hubbub, and much reading of passages out of law books. Brodric

[1] Journal of the Council of Trade (12 January 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 27.

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (22 April 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 94.

permitted himself to become sarcastic. He was sorry he had so often occasion to tell the Solicitor-General that he was fitter for a counter than the Bar, and advised him 'to return to his Shop agen'.[1]

At this juncture, in order to defeat Mead's delaying tactics, Codrington himself stood up to say that he was the proper person to grant such authority and that the Secretary should draw up the letters for his signature forthwith. The next step took every one by surprise and completely exposed Mead's little ruse. Colonel Hamilton, the distinguished soldier, rose and charged him with deliberate dishonesty. It was notorious to the whole island, he declared, that Mr. Justice Tovy, to whom Mead paid the rent for the two plantations in question, was not only attorney for Harvey's father-in-law but Harvey's guardian. This request for himself to be appointed guardian was merely another trick to avoid ejectment.

At this point Codrington lost his temper. All through the trial he had obviously been chafing at the muddled and disorderly proceedings and still more at the partiality of the judges who stood in evident dread of Mead.[2] Fuming with rage, he jumped up and addressed the Court. We have his own report of the speech, and in view of its interest and importance in the subsequent developments, it seems worthy of reproduction *in extenso*.

'Mr. Mead', he began, 'I have had a very scandalous character of this cause, but I find it worse than I expected. It has long been the scandal of this Island, and I find you design it shall Continue soe, but you will find yourself mistaken. These Islands suffer very much in their Interest as well as Honour by

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (22 April 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 94.

[2] Half-way through the proceedings (according to Codrington) Colonel Pym, the chief Judge, who was entirely under the thumb of Mead, 'had the impudence to quitt the Bench and swear by God he wou'd not hear it' (*ibid.*).

the general complaint wch prevails at Home yt there is a very great Obstruction of Iustice amongst us. And this lately occasioned a Bill to be brought into the House of Commons, wch wd. be fatal to these Colonies, if it should be past into Law. But if ye currant of Iustice sink in one place, it will rise in another, and those Causes yt cannot have a fair hearing here, must be carryed into Westminster Hall. This Cause, I assure you, shall be delayed no longer upon vain and frivolous Pretences. I have heard nothing on the one side but reason and Law, and on the other nothing but poor and idle evasions. The Judges are on their oaths, and so wd. a jury be, if you thought fit to have one, but some determination or other must be. I said to the Gentlemen of the Council and Assembly at my arrival, yt I came with Resolutions as well as Instructions to act according to Law. I am fully satisfied that Government is or ought to be ye Empire of Laws, and not of men; and this principle is so universall yt all Magistrates whatever are bound by it, an Emperor as well as a Petty Constable. Our master [i.e. William III] thinks himself circumscribed by the Laws, tho' without reach of its Vengeance, and shall a subject trifle with it? Noe, Sir, tho' I doe not understand forms and nicetys, I will take care ye Power and Equity of it shall prevail and whilst I have ye Honour of Commanding here, Justice shall be too powerful for ye wealth, ye art, ye avarice and ye insolence of any man whatsoever.'[1]

The effect in Court may be imagined. Hastily Mr. Burt, the acting Chief Judge and another of Mead's dependants, concurred with the irate Governor, and judgement was entered against Mead by default. But it was Codrington's firm belief that had he not appeared in Court, 'Mr. Presidt Burt wou'd not have had the Courage to have pronounc't against his Lord and Master'.[2]

The Governor's report of the proceedings is fully substantiated by other witnesses who were present. His reasons for the intervention are obvious. While

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (30 June 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 36.

working heart and soul for the cause of speedy and impartial justice, he had lighted on a most flagrant case of those very abuses which he was endeavouring to stamp out. Carried away by indignation he secured fair play by drastic measures. Unfortunately, by so doing he laid himself open to a grave charge. The Governor-General and his Council constituted a Court of Appeal to whom suits could be referred from the local courts of the respective islands. Consequently it was strictly unconstitutional for a member of the Supreme Court to influence the hearing before a lower authority of a case which might eventually come before him on appeal. Thoroughly justifiable as Codrington's outburst was in the cause of abstract justice, it was nevertheless unwise. And Mead with venomous cunning made the most of the opportunity thus afforded.

On hearing the verdict, the latter made formal request for leave to appeal to the Governor-General and Council, which was granted by the Court. Codrington himself then rose up and offered to go specially to Antigua the very next day to hear the case. But this was much too rapid dispatch for Mead's liking. Once the Supreme Court had confirmed the verdict against him, as he was well aware the notoriety of the case would cause it to do, all hope of retaining possession would be gone. Delay and more delay, and in the meantime an appeal to the Privy Council, was the plan. Accordingly Mead evaded his suggestion by replying that it would be time enough when Codrington returned from St. Christopher.[1]

The next step was unfortunate for Codrington, placing as it did a powerful weapon of attack into the hands of his cunning adversary. On the day after the trial, Mr. Brodric, counsel for Herbert, applied for and secured from the Nevis Court an order of immediate

[1] Codrington's sworn statement to the Council of Trade (23 April 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 94.

ejectment against Mead, on the ground that he had begun to cut down the orange trees and destroy the coppers and mills of the two plantations. In making the application Brodric evidently stated that he was doing so by the Governor's direction. This Codrington himself later denied emphatically. It was, moreover, the custom of the island to grant immediate possession to a successful claimant even when an appeal was pending, and Mead deserved summary ejectment.[1] Yet wittingly or unwittingly, Brodric had done Codrington a very ill turn by introducing his name. It just gave the requisite colour to Mead's subsequent charge that the Governor had not acted from a love of impartial justice, but was corruptly using his official influence on behalf of Herbert in the hope of substantial reward.

Again, it was a pity that Codrington allowed his just resentment such free expression. When Mead sent him first one and then another deliberately vague address of protest instead of coming forward with his appeal, he stigmatized the first as 'wholly irregular' and the second as not a petition but a libel, wholly incomprehensible and with 'false English in every line of it'.[2] All very true, as a matter of fact, but Mead's story of the Governor's violence was considerably strengthened thereby.

Mead, for his part, had no intention of waiting for the appeal to be heard. Things were becoming too hot. His smuggling practices had been discovered, and (as already noted) he was about to be suspended from his post for that reason. Wisely, therefore, he obtained permission from the Customs Commissioners in London to return to England on grounds of health. Before

[1] *Ibid.* Cf. Petition of Shipman and Harvey (18 December 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 1089, and Mead's Petition to the King, *ibid.*, No. 1090.

[2] Mead's two petitions to Codrington (14 May (?) and 26 May 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 1065, x and xi.

Codrington returned from his military preparations at St. Christopher, Mead was on his way to stir up trouble at Whitehall. Meantime, after much delay which seems to have been carefully engineered by Mead's lawyer, the appeal was heard at Antigua on the 6th of September 1701, when the verdict of the lower court in favour of Herbert was unanimously upheld.

The European situation in the year 1701 may be compared with the period immediately preceding the crash of a tropical hurricane, when the air hangs hot and motionless under a dome of gloom. English, Prussians, Dutch, and all that racial medley of the Empire were arming for the fight against the Bourbon colossus. Such a hurricane was blowing up that would form the destinies of Europe for half a century. Caught up in such a cataclysm, the ill-armed English of the little Leeward Islands would be in a fair way for extermination. Knowing this and tortured by the thought, Colonel Codrington regarded the petty persecution of Mead with impatience and contempt. When the bluff outspoken Roger Elrington, Governor of Nevis, wrote of Mead's departure, he replied in characteristic vein. 'Look you, Honest Roger, I despise Mr. Mead so heartily y^{t} I neither care whither he is gon, nor w^{t} his busnes is. As he is much fitter for His original occupation of Selling punch than managing y^{e} King's Customes, so He is much more worthy of a footman's cudgel then a Gentleman's resentment.' If a Governor must stand by and see all the injustice and oppression imaginable and never dare to interpose for fear of a complaint, then he is not fit to be Governor. 'And they must ev'n send from home a Tom Turd or a Tom Fool, or a Coll. Holt, or any other wretch fit to be bribed or aw'd by such an overgrown raskall as Mr. Mead.' And then a delightful touch. 'I alwaise speak as I think, and will alwaise justify w^{t} I say and w^{t} I doe.'[1]

[1] Codrington to Elrington (4 July 1701), C.O. 152/4, No. 38, i.

Here, indeed, is the man himself. Too high-handed, too impetuous, too self-confident. All the fiery ardour of his spirit had been engaged against a monster of corruption and disorder. In the midst of the struggle a cunning foe had struck him in the tenderest point, by accusing him of just those vices that he was endeavouring to exterminate. The first impulse was to lash out in fury at his assailant. But when the case dragged on in England and justice was slow in coming, a mood of bitter grieving followed. 'When this is over', he wrote in 1702, referring to the war, 'I shall deserve to come home, for I am unalterably determined to return. The vote has sunk too deep in my heart ever to be removed, and I act now very uncomfortably without pleasure and without ambition. If I live to see England, I will pass my life in my Library and be buryed in my garden.'[1]

A useful ally in the forthcoming struggle had been discovered by Mead in the person of William Freeman, who also proceeded to petition the home authorities against Codrington, on the ground that justice had been denied him in respect of his claim to the Godwyn manor in St. Kitts. The petitions of Freeman and Mead were received by the Privy Council on the 18th of December 1701, and referred to the Council of Trade and Plantations for consideration and report.[2] The Lords of Trade accordingly opened their inquiry into Freeman's case on the 30th, and into that of Mead on the 31st, Mr. Cary (agent for the Leeward Islands) and Mr. Hutchinson (agent for Codrington) being summoned to attend.[3]

[1] Codrington to Mr. Popple (?) (30 November 1702), C.O. 239/1, No. 3.

[2] Orders of Council, enclosing copies of the petitions of Mead, Harvey, and Freeman (18 December 1701), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, Nos. 1089, 1090, 1091.

[3] Journal of the Council of Trade (22 December), *Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 1108; Wm. Popple to Richard Cary (23 December), *ibid.*, No. 1111.

Unfortunately the latter were heavily handicapped in their defence of Codrington through lack of instructions. They knew nothing of the facts beyond the statements of the prosecution. In the Freeman case this was not so important, as Hutchinson was able to confute his opponents out of their own mouths by showing that Codrington's proceedings had been strictly regular. As to their story that he had taken possession of the Godwyn manor himself Hutchinson showed that by Freeman's own statements he, and not Codrington, was still cultivating the land there. At the same time he urged that no decision should be arrived at until the defendant himself had had time to transmit his evidence. Accordingly, after a series of further hearings on the 6th, 7th, 13th, and 14th of January, the Lords of Trade on the 5th of February drew up a careful report for the Crown, stating both sides of the case and recommending that in view of 'the many uncertaintys which remain to be cleared', judgement should be suspended until copies of Freeman's petition and of their report had been sent to Codrington for his full answer thereon.[1]

The real battle, however, centred round Mead's petition, which after two adjournments came up for hearing on the 13th of January 1702.[2] According to his own account he was the innocent victim of an outrageous perversion of justice. Governor Codrington had actually sat on the bench with the Nevis judges, deliberately browbeating them into giving a verdict for Herbert because he himself had arranged with that

[1] Council of Trade to the King (5 February 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 95.

[2] Journal of the Council of Trade (7 January 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 13. Both sides had been originally summoned on 31 December 1701; but Mead having fallen sick of the disease of which he was soon to die the hearing was adjourned until 7 January (*Cal. Col.*, 1701, No. 1133), and then readjourned until the 13th (*Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 13).

gentleman to buy up the plantations for an old song, should his title be proved. Then, after the trial, Codrington had ordered that Herbert should be given immediate possession and had persistently evaded hearing the appeal to the intent that Herbert should reap the benefit of the sugar crop then growing on the estates. They were dastardly charges, and we cannot wonder at Codrington's frenzied wrath when he eventually read them.

On the 13th of February the Council decided to suspend the inquiry until Codrington's statement of the case should come to hand and Mead's appeal to the King should be duly entered.[1] But this was far from meeting the wishes of Freeman and Mead, who wanted a judgement before their opponent, armed with records and affidavits, could make his weight felt. Protesting that the Council of Trade and Plantations was denying them justice—an affront which their Lordships deeply resented—they within a week laid a petition before the House of Commons, who referred the matter to a representative committee.[2] By request a full

[1] Council of Trade to the King (13 February 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 113.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vol. 13 (1699–1702), pp. 749–50. The members of the Committee consisted of the following: Mr. Harcourt, Sir Edward Seymour, Mr. Bierly, Sir Walter Yonge, Sir Richard Cocks, Sir Joseph Tredenham, Mr. Bromley, Lord Cheyne, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Scobell, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Bertie, Sir John Philips, Mr. Clark, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Mr. Blathwaite, Mr. Farrer, Mr. Crowe, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Robert Bertie, Sir John Williams, Colonel Granville, Mr. Rowney, Mr. R. Gulston, Mr. Mansell, Mr. Harley, Mr. Colchester, Sir Francis Massam, Mr. Wilde, Mr. Jennens, Mr. Shackerby, Sir Thomas Hanmore, Mr. Freeman, Sir Jacob Banks, Mr. Herne, Sir Francis Blake, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Brewer, Mr. Brereton, Sir Henry Ashurst, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Coke, Mr. Moor, Mr. Owen, Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Walpoole, Mr. Lowther, Mr. Manley, Mr. J. A. Bertie, Mr. King, Mr. Owen, Mr. Papillon, Mr. St. John, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Comyns, Mr. Edward Gulston, Sir Charles Barrington, Mr. Harpur, Mr. Thompson; 'and all the merchants, and all the

report and copies of all relevant papers were dispatched by the Council to the Commons on the 23rd of February.[1]

Thus armed, the committee set to work to unravel the mass of tangled evidence before them. The difficulty of the task is illustrated by the frequent addition of further members to the committee, by its request to the House for guidance, and by the length of time devoted to the inquiry.[2]

That Codrington, late Fellow of All Souls and Colonel in the First Foot Guards, should be on trial for tyranny, violence, and corruption was the talk of London society.[3] Hitherto his enemies had held the field, Codrington himself being very much in the dark. Though well aware that Mead and Freeman were accusing him, he was ignorant of the exact charges preferred. But at last on the 23rd of April copies of the two complaints reached him at Antigua and Codrington lost no time in coming into action.

Confident as ever, he told the Lords of Trade that the calumnies against him did not afford him the least disturbance, rather was he proud to have the chance of vindicating himself before the King, the Commons, and the whole world. Sure of his own innocence, he was boiling with resentment. 'Impalement', he bursts out, 'ought to be either their sentence or mine.' The papers necessary for his justification were at Nevis and St. Kitts, whither he would hasten in two or three days'

Gentlemen of the Long Robe: and they are to meet this afternoon at Five a Clock in the Speaker's Chambers; and have Power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records'. Cf. Luttrell's *Diary*, Oxford, 1857, vol. v, p. 144 (24 February 1702).

[1] Cf. Order of the House of Commons (19 February), *ibid.*, No. 131, also *ibid.*, Nos. 133, 141; *Commons Journals*, pp. 755–6.

[2] See *Commons Journals* (*ut supra*), pp. 752, 757, 758, 769.

[3] 'These matters have occasioned much speech and great reflections upon your conduct.' Council of Trade to Codrington (24 March), *ut supra*. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland MSS.*, vol. viii, p. 95.

time. 'I only beg yo^{r} Lords^{ps} patience; y^{e} justice I am secure of, and I hope to deserve y^{or} good opinion, and if not, my Lords, Ile punish myself more severely than even Mr. Mead or Mr. Freeman woud wish me treated —for Ile forgive them and turn Monk.' And then he plunges into a graphic account of the whole story, pointing it here and there with rapier thrusts at his opponents. As to Mr. Mead he would like to ask him a few questions. Was it not a fact that in the time of the elder Codrington when Herbert was struggling to regain his rights, Mead bribed the plaintiff's lawyer with 300 pieces-of-eight to abscond to Montserrat on the very day of the trial? Then follows a hail of further questions and facts, utterly confuting Mead's story of injustice and delay. 'If he w^{d} answer these questions, there woud need neither factums nor proofs, and by y^{e} same holy Sacrament I woud protest, as I doe now before Almighty God, y^{t} I never did, nor ever will receive of Mr. Herbert, or any man living one shilling, directly or indirectly; y^{t} I never heard he intended to sell his plantation, nor had I ever y^{e} least spark of an intention to purchase it; y^{t} w^{t}soever I did, to the best of my understanding was my duty, and proceeded from a concern to see a poor man so basely opprest by a rich and potent adversary. As this is true, so help me God.'[1]

Attached to this letter was a certificate signed by the public notary to the effect that it had been read paragraph by paragraph to the Antiguan Council, who had 'owned the same to be every word of it true'.[2] Nor was the actual evidence which Codrington finally produced less weighty than his protestations. Certified copies of every official record relating to the proceedings in dispute were received on the 20th of October 1702, and they vindicate his own account in every particular.[3]

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (23 April 1702, *ut supra*).
[2] C.O. 152/4, No. 95.
[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1702, Nos. 1065, i–xx.

Among a variety of sworn statements from the various legislative bodies, perhaps that of the unanimous assembly of Nevis is the most striking. He had acted with great zeal and vigour for his Majesty's service and the real welfare of the island, 'by administering true Justice and right Judgement, impartially without Favour or Affection, Profit or Gain, to all both Rich and Poor, so that he hath most justly acquired a Laudable and Honourable Reputation, and may without the least flattery be stiled a good and careful General, an honest and prudent Governor, a true and upright Judge to us and a Loyal and faithful Subject and Servant to his Majesty'.[1]

In addition to testimonies such as these, an even weightier one came to hand from an independent observer. George Larkin, a Commissioner for the Council of Trade, had recently made a tour of the American Colonies to examine into various abuses. Everywhere he had found irregularities in administration occasioned by the disposal of patent offices to persons wholly unacquainted with business, some of whom were scarce capable of writing six words of sense. 'But what most of all surprizes me is a complaint against the Governor of the Leeward Islands to the House of Commons, who truly (if I may have leave to speak my thoughts) is the only Governor that I have met withall since my coming into America that can be called a Good Governour. All his actions seem to tend wholly to the service of the Crown, and good of the subject, with all the honour and justice immaginable and that without any advantage to himself.' 'Every body here assures me', he adds, ' that he has

[1] Printed in *A Copy of the Petition of William Freeman, Esq. in behalf of himself and Others against Col. Christopher Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands, Presented to the House of Commons the 19th of February 1701/2. With some Remarks thereon* (London, 1702), p. 5.

taken abundance of pains with the militia of this Island [Antigua], and made them very fit for service upon any emergency: he is revising their laws, and takes all imaginable care to prevent clandestine and illegall trade. If the Governour was not a man of learning and parts, business would be carried on here at a very lame rate.'[1]

But Codrington was not satisfied with written statements. His honour had been wantonly assailed for all the world to hear, and he was determined that the world should equally hear the other side from his own mouth. 'Send me a furlow for six months or for ever, I beg of you,'[2] he wrote to the Council. Again: 'I begg your Lordships to hasten my furlow. I refer it to your Lordships' equity whether I should be obliged to stay here and spend above 1500l a year out of my own estate to meet with such returns as I have done.'[3] 'My honour is much dearer to me than an employ more valuable than mine is, and if an English gentleman is to be perjur'd, Clamourd and vowd out of His reputation wthout being allowed a hearing, a French Man or even a Turc has no reason to envy an Englishman.'[4]

These are the words of a man who was suffering in mind and body. In this summer of 1702 Codrington was sick of a fever. 'I am so weak and spiritless', he wrote in June, 'that I am not able to hold up my head.'[5] The reply of the Council of Trade in September was sympathetic but firm. There was no cause for alarm at the long delay of the Commons in giving judgement; and they did not doubt but that he would fully vindicate himself in his official defence. But as to his demand

[1] George Larkin to the Council of Trade (11 May 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 97.

[2] 10 May 1702 (C.O. 152/4, No. 96).

[3] 14 May (*ibid.*, No. 98).

[4] 13 October (C.O. 239/1, No. i).

[5] Codrington to the Council of Trade (28 June 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 104.

for six months leave, they could not entertain it at such a time of national danger when all his courage and ability would be needed in defending the Leeward Islands, a task for which no one was so well fitted as he. 'We therefore exhort you to continue rather to exert that Vigour, which you have frequently exprest, in the Occasions that may offer you Her Majesty's service. And as we do not doubt but it will tend greatly to your Honour, so we hope it will be likewise to your Interest.'[1]

At last in October the Commons Committee presented their report to the House, where the matter was finally debated. As the speeches of members were not officially reported in the eighteenth century, it is particularly fortunate that a speech made on this occasion in defence of Codrington was written out by its author and preserved among his private papers. The speaker was the Honourable Charles Boyle, now member for Huntingdon, and faithful as ever to his absent friend.

'Mr. Speaker,' he began, 'I attended this Committee; and all that appeared there considerable against Colonel Codrington, came from one who appeared plainly to be a prejudiced Person. . . . His Evidence, Sir, was so frivolous, and so absurd, and so much consisted either of Hearsay, or of his own Injuries, that I was of Opinion it ought not to have been taken down; that when it was taken, it ought not to have been reported; and now it is reported, I am confident it cannot find Credit with any Gentleman, who will give himself the Trouble to consider it impartially.' After a vigorous exposition of the case, he concluded as follows: 'The plain Truth of this Matter is, Sir, that this Gentleman has too much Merit to be endured by those that have none; and I am very well assured, both from the Character of

[1] Council of Trade to Codrington (8 September), C.O. 153/8, pp. 68–9.

his Accusers, and his own, that he is really, and at the Bottom more hated for his good Qualities, than disliked for his Management; His Impartiality has drawn upon him the Enmity of those who stood in need of his Favour; and his Integrity has exasperated those who could have lived much better by his Corruption.'[1] On the question being put, the House divided and by a clear majority honourably acquitted Codrington of all imputations.

He had been acquitted, as he well deserved to be. Nevertheless, it seems evident that his besetting weakness, impetuosity, and a tendency to trample where he could not lead, had been partly responsible for arousing such bitter hostility.

[1] *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*, by D. E. Budgell (London, 1737), pp. 203–8.

VII

THE CAMPAIGN IN GUADELOUPE (1702–5)

ON the 8th of March 1702 William III of England and Orange laid down his thankless task of living, having just completed the building up of a great European coalition against the power of France. His death spread consternation among the allies. Should England now withdraw, the rest of Europe would be helpless before the Bourbon menace. Fortunately the peril of England was greater than the timidity and toryism of Anne. On the 4th of May war was formally proclaimed against Louis XIV.[1]

In the Leeward Islands Codrington had seized the occasion of proclaiming Anne's accession to show the French that Jacobite support was not to be expected there.[2] On the 4th of June the militia of St. Christopher was drawn up on the frontier facing the French fort, that of Nevis being stationed on the sea-shore facing the same direction. Codrington himself on board the frigate with a dozen sloops sailed in close to the French town of Basse Terre, and in his capacity of Vice-Admiral of those seas duly made the proclamation. Then on a given signal guns were fired, beginning with the 'windermost' fort at Nevis, on through the forts along the shore, taken up by the ships in the road and completed by the artillery of St. Kitts. This was done three times, and then the militia of the two islands fired three running salvoes 'to the very noses of the French'.[3]

[1] See Boyer's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne*, vol. i, pp. 30–1.

[2] On the Queen's accession Codrington's commission, as that of other Governors, was formally renewed (*Cal. Col.*, 1702, Nos. 510, 805, 1034).

[3] Codrington to the Council of Trade (4 June 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 99. Cf. Boyer's *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 67–8. Boyer seems to have had access to Codrington's letter, for the two accounts are identical.

Ere long the echoing boom of the guns and the muskets' rattle were to be heard in those islands in deadly earnest.

Codrington had thought it proper, he informed their Lordships, to give the French this little piece of mortification, because on the previous day Monsieur De Gennes and some of his friends had paid him a visit for the express purpose of telling him that the Pretender had arrived in Scotland and would very soon be in triumphant possession of London. His reply must have been disappointing. 'I answered them, they were not in y^e^ secret—for he was to take the Leeward Islands in y^e^ way, and they should see the next day the reception I intended them.'[1] The incident (if nothing else) furnishes another illustration of how the French miscalculated when they counted on a national reaction to the Stuart cause.

News of the declaration of war reached Antigua on the 28th of June when Codrington was still sick of the fever. Well aware that the issue almost entirely depended on delivering the first blow, he roused himself for action. The French and English on St. Kitts were nicely balanced as to numbers, but the French were much the stronger in arms and organization. Only speed and strategy could turn the scale. He was off to Leeward the next day. 'I am much fitter for my bed than the field', he wrote, 'but we are not to sleep now at St. Kitts; the cause must be decided, and our people won't go where I don't lead.' And then a touch which shows that the old trouble was still rankling. 'If I dye in the action, my Lords, believe I dye an honest man. If I live, I'le satisfy the world I am so.'[2]

In point of fact royal instructions ordering him to

[1] C.O. 152/4, No. 99, *ut supra.*

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (28 June 1702), C.O. 152/4, No. 104.

attack the French at St. Kitts were now on their way together with a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, suggesting that if he wished to defer the execution of Her Majesty's orders until he received reinforcements, he was to make application as soon as possible.[1] But long before these instructions arrived the French had been cleared from the island. To wait long months for probably indifferent troops would have ruined the enterprise.

Most unfortunately Codrington's official dispatch narrating the events which followed was captured at sea,[2] and our only source of information is a much shorter letter of his. From this we can gather that immediately on arrival at St. Kitts he mobilized all forces, secured contingents from the other islands, and appointed Colonel Hamilton (of whom he held a high opinion) as Major-General. Assured of the enthusiastic support of his officers, he planned a surprise attack on the French quarter. Very soon the enemy had been hustled out of all their positions and Basse Terre was surrounded. On the night of the 5th of July articles of capitulation were signed by De Gennes to the effect that the French should march out of Basse Terre next morning with drums beating and matchlocks lighted.[3]

[1] Addit. MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 29591, *Hatton-Finch Papers, relating to Naval and Military Operations*, 1702–4. Copy of Nottingham's letter to Codrington (1 June 1702), f. 13; Draft of Royal Instructions, f. 15. Nottingham further asked Codrington's advice as to the practicability of capturing Martinique. 'In order to it I desire you to inform yr. selfe of y^e^ strength of y^t^ place, what new fortifications they have made there since the last war, what regular troopes they have . . . what number of our forces would be requisite for such an attempt and what ships would be necessary to assist in it, and what additional forces you could have from our Charibee Islands to ioyn in this service' (f. 13, *up supra*). Codrington responded by drawing up a scheme for capturing not only Martinique but all the French Islands.

[2] Council of Trade to Secretary Sir Charles Hedges (17 September 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 968.

[3] Articles of Capitulation, *ibid.*, No. 968, i.

'Her [Majesty's] Flag is now flying on y^e^ French Fort,' reported Codrington, 'and y^e^ Count des Gennes w^th^ ab^t^ 1200 French Men, Women and Children are my Prisners. I am made believe by y^e^ French themselves y^t^ a tolerable good disposition of my forces and a lucky Stratagem or two made them doe y^t^ ouer-night, w^ch^ they were very much ashamed of y^e^ next morning.'[1] The senior French officers were forthwith deported to Martinique, and the main body of inhabitants to San Domingo. In short, a swift and brilliant victory, upon which he was warmly congratulated by the authorities at home.[2]

Yet this would not be a narrative true to the West Indies, if, even in a crisis such as this, it could be recorded that the planters sank their differences and stood shoulder to shoulder. Hardly had the 'cease fire' sounded when the old wearisome business of bickering, faction, and feud broke out once more. During the succeeding three months Codrington remained at St. Kitts doing all in his power 'to put it into a good posture, and the people into a good temper'. But so bitter was the jealousy between the Windward and the Leeward groups, that all attempts to unite them for common defence fell to the ground. 'I have tortured my brains to find proper expedients,' Codrington declared, 'but have not yet, and I fear never shall be so happy till I have the Gift of Creation.'[3]

Meantime, preparations for an important venture in the West Indies were afoot in England. On the 24th of September 1702 a squadron of four men-of-war and

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (6 July 1702), C.O. 152/5, No. 2. By a court martial at Martinique on 4 October 1704, M. de Gennes was found guilty of flagrant cowardice in having surrendered to Codrington without striking a blow (*Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 1025, i).

[2] William Popple to Codrington (13 November 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702, No. 1153.

[3] Codrington to the Council of Trade (14 October 1702), C.O. 152/5, No. 10.

twelve transports under the command of Commodore Walker, with four regiments of the Irish establishment on board, were detached from the expedition at Cadiz for service in the Caribbean.[1] After a long voyage they arrived at Barbados on the 5th of December.[2] It was intended that a further force, consisting of English and Dutch under the Earl of Peterborough, should join up with Walker and begin operations on a large scale. After the French settlements on Martinique and Guadeloupe had been destroyed, they were to proceed by way of Jamaica to attack Havana and if possible Cartagena on the Main in order to intimidate the Spaniards into breaking away from the Bourbon connexion. This done, the expedition was to sail north, and deliver a blow against Placentia and the French fishery in Newfoundland.[3] In fact, some were sanguine enough to state that with the assistance of the New Englanders this force might easily take Quebec and drive the French entirely out of Canada.[4] Brave hopes indeed: almost as far-reaching as those of the Penn-Venables expedition that Cromwell sent out in 1655—and even less successful.

On the 22nd of December Peterborough was ap-

[1] The regiments were those of Major-General Earl, Brigadier Hamilton, Lord Donegal, and Lord Charlemont (Boyer's *Annals*, vol. i, p. 28). A year later both houses of the Irish Parliament petitioned the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord-Lieutenant, for their speedy return (*ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 81–3).

[2] Commodore Walker to the Earl of Nottingham (?) (12 January 1703), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 164.

[3] Draft Instructions to the Earl of Peterborough, Addit. MSS. 29591 (*Hatton-Finch Papers*), ff. 26–7. The following passage in the Instructions is noteworthy: 'And whereas we have directed . . . persons sent by y^e^ Emperor to accompany you in this Expedic̄on and to persuade y^e^ Spaniards to declare for and to yield obedience to y^e^ House of Austria, to be embarked on board', you are to publish all requisite declarations, and if the inhabitants submit, to impose oaths of allegiance to the Archduke. Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, Nos. 170, 192, 274.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 193.

pointed Governor of Jamaica and Commander-in-Chief of the forces on that station, 'with immediate prospect of active service against the Spanish settlements'. On the same day further details of the enterprise were considered and approved by the Privy Council.[1] Yet week after precious week elapsed, and the expedition had not sailed. On the 15th of January Admiral Van der Dussen with a squadron of Dutch ships of war and 1,800 landsmen aboard sailed into Spithead to join the English contingent. 'But, whatever was the true Reason,' Boyer narrates, 'this Design was soon after laid aside; so that the Dutch were forc'd to return home'.[2] Every biographer of the volatile Peterborough asserts that he abandoned the enterprise because the Dutch found that they could not spare the requisite number of men and he himself was not willing to go alone with an inadequate English force.[3] The real reason seems to have been disgust and disappointment at the lack of enthusiasm displayed which determined him to await some more hopeful means of winning a military reputation.[4]

However that may be, the great enterprise had fallen through, and Codrington was left to do his best with the forces already arrived in those waters.[5] The tale of mismanagement had begun: it was to continue until the end of the chapter. But of all this Codrington himself was almost completely in the dark and mightily impatient thereat. He had heard that his friend Peterborough was coming but exactly where and to what end he did not know. In a letter home he urged the

[1] Addit. MSS. 29591, f. 131.

[2] *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 202.

[3] Cf. under name in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[4] Peterborough to Nottingham (3 January 1703), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 129.

[5] Addit. MSS. 29591 (rough notes for instructions to Codrington), ff. 128 and 263. He was to attack and destroy the French settlements on Martinique, Guadeloupe, Mariegalante, and Grenada, 'which', it was optimistically stated, 'can not make any resistance'.

necessity of immediate action. Already the opportunity of surprise was gone. So alarmed were the French after the St. Kitts affair that they were busily fortifying and entrenching all their islands. 'Yet such a Fleet wth such a Man at y^{e} head of it must not come to y^{e} Indys for nothing, and I shall not fail to tell my Lord he had better lose fifteen hund^{red} Men, Sword in hand, than twice as many wth feavers and fluxes.' 'Miracles', he adds, 'are sometimes done by Bravery, and we must exert all we have. I have but one Life to lose and my Freind and Country deserve it.'[1]

Strike and strike quickly. The warning was only too well justified. As already noted, Commodore Walker arrived with his squadron at Barbados on the 5th of December. Five days later he requested the Council that the troops be allowed to land and encamp, that the sick be attended to, and notice forthwith sent to Codrington of his arrival.[2] All of which was formally agreed to. Yet so slow were the worthy councillors that the unfortunate soldiers were kept on board for over three weeks. As for sending word to the Governor of the Leeward Islands, to hire a sloop for the purpose would cost money.[3] But worse was to befall. Walker himself fell ill; and fever soon began to rage with such fearful effect that there were scarcely sufficient sailors to man the ships.[4] The soldiers, once they were ashore, fared somewhat better, save for those quartered in Bridgetown, which was insanitary even according to seventeenth-century standards. Their enemy was of a different sort. With one consent the inhabitants set

[1] Codrington to (?) W. Popple (30 November 1702), C.O. 239/1, No. 3.

[2] Minutes of Council of Barbados (10 December 1702), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, Nos. 34 and 56.

[3] Commodore Walker to (?) the Earl of Nottingham (12 January 1703), *ibid.*, No. 164; cf. No. 148.

[4] Commodore Walker to (?) the Earl of Nottingham (4 February 1703), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 298.

to work to debauch them. 'The Planters', wrote Codrington when he heard of it, 'think y^e^ best way to make their strangers Welcome is to murther them w^th^ Drinking. The tenth part of y^t^ strong liquor w^ch^ will scarce warme the blood of our West Indians, who have bodies like Egyptian mummys, must certainly dispatch a New-Comer to the other World.'[1] Not the least of the resulting evils was the desertion of many of the best officers and great numbers of the men, who were concealed by their Barbadian friends. So the process of demoralization went on, while January came and went, and Commodore Walker still loitered.

Meantime, Codrington was kicking his heels in fierce impatience in the Leeward Islands. Totally ignorant of the plan of campaign, he had nevertheless put all his energy into the task of raising troops. At first the white settlers had stubbornly refused to respond, and it had required all his influence and authority to induce them to enlist. A second difficulty had arisen in respect of the Creoles, who bitterly recalled the harsh treatment which they had endured under Colonel Foulke in the Martinique campaign of 1693. It was only by assuring them that Peterborough was a different type of man from Foulke that they consented to mix with European troops at all. By dint of strenuous efforts and much private expense, he finally succeeded in raising a regiment of twelve companies and two independent companies, 'prepared to embarque, let my Lord come as soon he pleases'.[2] It was not until the night of the 20th of January that word was received of Walker's arrival at Barbados six weeks before. Expecting that the squadron must surely reach Antigua within a few days, Codrington packed his men on board some small

[1] Codrington to (?) the Earl of Nottingham (24 February), C.O. 7/1, No. 3.

[2] Same to same (18 January), C.O. 239/1, No. 5.

sloops, the only craft that he could procure. Yet there they remained crowded together 'like ballast' for three weeks; for Walker did not anchor at Antigua until about the 20th of February.

Codrington was bitterly disappointed. Not only was the long delay at Barbados criminal, but to sail down to the Leeward Islands was folly. Before any of the French Islands could now be attacked, the heavy merchant transports and men-of-war would be obliged to beat their way back in the teeth of the Trade Winds —a slow and difficult business. 'Had the Commodore given me notice from Barbados, I wo'd have order'd him to fall no lower, till I had harassed the Leeward side of Guardeloupe with my Creoles in light sloops and brigantines. And then falling on their Town and Fort wth Her Majesty's Forces, I should have gained and destroyed the whole Island before I can now get to it—and then have been able to attempt something else.'[1] If he had been given command of both fleet and forces (and here he puts his finger on the fatal weakness of this and many expeditions) at their first arrival, he could have captured Martinique with ease. But now the French, forewarned, had called in 1,800 of their best men who had been out at sea as privateers. An opportunity, that would probably never again occur throughout the war, had been let slip. All that could be now attempted was an attack on Guadeloupe. The concluding passage of this striking letter reveals alike the character of the man and the root cause of almost all the many military failures in the West Indies. 'If I escape from this Expedition, and Her Majesty shall think fit to employ me agen, I must beg leave to have y^{e} Conduct of the Enterprise from y^{e} beginning, one false step ruines the whole Expedition. In Europe there may be roome for a Back Game, but here the design must be laid well and fully at first, and then

[1] Same to same (23 January), C.O. 239/1, No. 4.

vigorously executed. For Delays will cost more men than the warmest actions.'[1]

At last, however, the long waiting came to an end. With something over 3,000 troops,[2] a squadron of ships of the line, sloops, brigantines, and merchant transports, Codrington was ready to strike a blow at the French in Guadeloupe. On the morning of the 5th of March 1703 Commodore Walker sent his barge for the General to come on board. By five o'clock in the afternoon the fleet was under way,[3] Walker flying his pennant on H.M.S. *Boyne*. At noon on the following day the coast of luxuriant Guadeloupe with its towering range of mountains was sighted. For two days the squadron plied to and fro in expectation of the *Anglesey* and the heavy slow-sailing transport ships. Tacking south along the western coast, search was made for a likely anchorage. At one bay which looked inviting the leading ships stood in close. But deep water, ringed about with hills rising sheer from the water-side like a Scandinavian fjord, rendered the place unfit for anchorage. Here the first shots were fired; several guns around the Bay opened fire, wounding a boy and killing one man, but doing no damage to the ships.

At a council of war held that day on board the *Boyne*, Codrington decided not to make the landing till

[1] Codrington to (?) the Earl of Nottingham (24 February 1703), C.O. 7/1, No. 3.

[2] The Irish regiments sent from Cadiz numbered about 2,500 (Addit. MSS. 29591, f. 263): the West Indian troops, comprising the planter companies, the Creole regiment, and Colonel Whetstone's regulars, mustered about 1,200. On the other hand over 1,000 men (including sailors) had been lost by sickness before the expedition sailed for Guadeloupe (*Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 362).

[3] Commodore Walker's Journal relating to the Expedition to Guadeloupe, entitled the *Boyne's Journal, Remarkable Observations and Accidents* (C.O. 152/5, No. 30). Except where otherwise stated, the narrative above follows this full and graphic account.

all the troops had come up. Proceeding farther south, the *Boyne* and other leading ships came to anchor in Guavas Bay at five o'clock on the 10th, while the *Anglesey*, *Cumberland*, and *Burford*, with the rest of the brigantines and sloops, were still plying to windward. In spite of a rough sea and a strong northerly current, a raiding party was landed which burnt a number of houses and plantations along the sea-side, returning on board at nine in the evening.[1] Next morning the French, concluding that Guavas Bay was the intended landing place, manned their breast-works and batteries there and opened fire upon the English ships. In reply the naval guns began a bombardment which drove the enemy out of their positions.

This done, a detachment of Colonel Byam's[2] Creole regiment came ashore and marched along the sea-side burning all the houses and settlements in their way. At the same time the fleet weighed anchor and followed the coast southward.

The preliminary skirmishes were now over. The attack on the fortress and town of Basse Terre, the capital of the island, was about to be launched. The town itself was built on the harbour into which a small river emptied itself. Behind, and dominating it, stood the fort and the castle, both built on the edge of a precipice, the former on the south and the latter on the north side of the river Du Galion. Linking up the two positions was a strongly fortified system of trenches. Protecting the whole was a wide ditch: while the castle itself was further provided with a deep moat and a drawbridge. In fact the English were faced with a

[1] That same night (10 March) Captain Fairborne in the *Maidstone*, which had been anxiously expected, arrived in the bay (cf. Boyer's *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 3).

[2] This veteran soldier was the same Byam who had been Governor of Surinam in Guiana until its capture by a Dutch force in 1667. Cf. *Colonizing Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana*, ed. V. T. Harlow, Hakluyt Society, vol. lvi.

heavy task.[1] They and their leader were about to attack the fortress which had defeated the efforts of the elder Codrington twelve years before.

By noon of this same day (11 March) the Creoles on land and the fleet by sea had reached the Bay of La Bayliffe just to the north of Basse Terre town. A Council of War was thereupon held to plan the landing on the morrow. It was arranged that the rest of the Creole Regiment and two hundred grenadiers of Colonel Whetham's should make the first attempt at two o'clock in the morning, to be followed at five by twelve hundred of the Irish regulars whose rendezvous was to be on board the *Yarmouth*. Unfortunately some hitch so delayed the first party that it was daylight before they were all landed. Realizing the danger, Codrington hastened to the *Yarmouth* and without waiting for the remainder sent off the boats with the five hundred already assembled. The journey across the Bay was a perilous one, for the enemy's guns were raking it on every side. But by good fortune not a shot hit any of the boats.

The rolling thunder of the guns was now augmented by the sharp staccato of the musketry from the trenches. Forming up on the beach, the troops went gallantly to the attack, led by Codrington himself with Colonel Whetham and Lieutenant-Colonel Wills. An hour's very hot engagement then ensued. In spite of heavy casualties from the fire of the French, they steadily gained ground, while the guns of H.M.S. *Maidstone* and *Chichester* engaged the enemy's batteries. A sharp encounter, and the trenches were in their hands.

The troops were then given a 'breather', while the

[1] See map facing p. 157, which is based on the following: (i) 'Veue du fort, bourg, et rade de la Basse terre à la Guadaloupe' (1667), Harleian MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 7027, No. 50; (ii) 'Veue du fort de la Magdelaine et du bourg, rade et rivière du Bailly à la Guadaloupe' (*ibid.*); (iii) Maps of the north-west and south-west coast of Guadeloupe (*ibid.*, Nos. 46, 47); (iv) 'Anchorages in Guadeloupe and the adjacent Islands' (Admiralty Chart, No. 491).

boats plied to and fro across the Bay landing reinforcements, and Codrington prepared for the next advance. By nine o'clock the full force was on the move to attack the fortifications that guarded the little town of La Bayliffe. Here the resistance was more vigorous. Field batteries held every vantage point, and well-constructed earthworks hid the infantry, now largely reinforced from Basse Terre. Three hours stubborn and costly fighting took place before the English were ready for the last rush. And then, says Boyer, they 'march'd up to their Entrenchments, with their Musquets Shoulder'd, not firing themselves a Shot, till they could come to lay the Muzzles of their Guns upon the Enemies Breast Works'.[1] Pushing forward up the hill they occupied the battery positions, where all the guns were found spiked. An hour later they were in La Bayliffe itself, storming the 'Jacobine' church which the enemy had fortified, and capturing ten pieces of cannon. By two o'clock they were in possession of a platform and a redoubt containing four more guns. That night an advance-guard of four hundred regulars and the Marine Regiment under the gallant Colonel Moses attacked the 'Jacobine' plantation and the breast-works along the Jacobine river, which the enemy quitted after firing two volleys of small shot.[2]

So far, then, everything had gone according to plan. The next stage, the capture of Basse Terre and its forts lying about a mile to the southward, was the all-important one. Having got the enemy on the run, Codrington was determined to prosecute the advantage. Next morning arrangements having been made with Walker for a regular food-supply from the ships,[3] the army fell in and began its march on Basse Terre.

[1] *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 3 (*ut supra*). [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Codrington's letter to Walker and his reply are printed *in extenso* in Walker's *Journal*, p. 7. It was arranged that each ship should furnish its own contingent with rations daily.

On approaching the lower town, little or no resistance was offered by the enemy, who retired to their formidable lines around the Castle and the Fort. Indeed the position of the English was now far from satisfactory. To approach the enemy entailed an advance through the upper town, which was being heavily bombarded by the guns of the fortresses towering on the heights above. To storm the latter by a frontal attack was out of the question. The only course was to bring up as much artillery as possible and settle down to a systematic bombardment until a breach had been made in the walls.

This Codrington prepared to do. At a council of war held in Basse Terre on the 14th of March it was unanimously decided to ask for artillery from the ships. 'I am to request of you', he wrote to the Commodore, 'y^{t} you will immediately furnish y^{e} Army wth six twelve pounders and six of eighteen to batter the ffort in brech, wthout w^{ch} we cannot proceed. You will likewise please to order the Sea Carpenters to make perfect Carriages for y^{m}. I beg this may be done wth all Expedition: it may be easily done to-morrow morning.'[1] At the same time his quick mind had planned a lightning stroke. In Guadeloupe, as in almost every West Indian colony, the inhabitants had built a Dos D'Asne (or Dod'ane), which was a fortified camp to which they all could repair, as a kind of city of refuge, in times of danger. Codrington calculated that if he could catch this camp unprepared and capture it with all the chief inhabitants inside, 'the business', as he told Walker, 'is finished'. It was accordingly agreed at the council of war that Codrington himself should undertake the venture on the following day with 2,000 men, leaving the remainder with the mariners to guard the camp.

[1] Copied *in extenso* in Walker's *Journal* (pp. 8–9). Also in Codrington's annotated copy of the proceedings of the various councils of war (C.O. 152/5, No. 48, i).

Four days' provisions were to be taken, which the Commodore was asked to send ashore the next morning.

At this critical juncture, when everything depended upon speedy execution, the supply of provisions from the ships suddenly ceased. For two days the troops were left unprovided. When food was eventually brought ashore, it was too late. A relief force of nine hundred Frenchmen from Martinique had landed on the eastern side of the island, and all hope of a surprise attack on the Dod'ane was gone.[1] In many ways this incident was the turning-point of the campaign. After this nothing but ill luck and dissension seemed to dog the English.

Yet here, as elsewhere, warfare has its lighter side. It was far from satisfactory that each meal should be cooked on board and then carried to the camp in open boats. The soldiers, we are told, made angry complaints 'that their oatmeal and peas were cold before they came ashoar'. The scene is reminiscent of many an angry platoon in Flanders. On this occasion Walker proposed to send a purser ashore with a week's provisions and a supply of kettles. 'I think', wrote Codrington in reply, 'y^e^ best method imaginable is w^t^ you propose. There will be here no danger of a Purser, for I defy him to cheat our Soldiers even of the biscuit crums.' A more serious difficulty, which he brought to the Commodore's notice, was the growing habit among the mariners of prowling about Basse Terre in search of plunder, which the soldiers naturally regarded as their own perquisite. 'Y^e^ Seamen will certainly be knock't on y^e^ head', wrote Codrington, 'if this be not prevented for y^e^ future.'

The scheme of a surprise attack on the Dod'ane having fallen through, the army settled down to construct a land battery for breaching the walls of the

[1] See Codrington's note in Proceedings of the Councils of War (C.O. 152/5, No. 48, i, *ut supra*).

Fort. On the 17th of March four eighteen-pounders and six twelve-pounders, with powder and shot, were ordered to be sent ashore. At Codrington's request bags of cotton were also provided to protect the men in the gun emplacements from small shot. After five days' strenuous work in wet weather the digging of the battery positions was finished and the guns ready for action. On the 22nd a heavy artillery duel began. Unprotected as they were, save for the hastily constructed earthworks, the English gunners suffered heavily.

The scene itself must have been a striking one. In the foreground, ships of the line and transports riding at anchor in deep blue water; above, the town and fortresses veiled in a fog of smoke that quivered with the flash and roar of the guns. Behind, the rich majesty of the hills of Guadeloupe. Plying across the Bay, a procession of boats; some bearing powder and ball for the battery, others bringing back to the ships a burden of wounded and dying.

After three days' bombardment considerable breaches had been made in the walls of the fort and castle. But the time for storming was not yet. Infantry attacks without full and adequate artillery preparation are always a useless waste of human life; so the order was for more and yet more ammunition to serve the guns.

Unfortunately the Commodore was growing restive. Like most sailors of the time, he had a rooted objection to sacrificing the navy for the benefit of land operations. This very understandable attitude became increasingly evident as the campaign developed. When the main fleet first took up its position in the roadstead of Basse Terre, Walker on board the *Boyne* had stayed behind in the safer harbour at La Bayliffe with several other vessels; and there he remained despite the protests of Codrington and the land officers. Moreover, on the day before the bombardment opened, he had

received instructions from the Lord High Admiral ordering him to assist the army *in so far as was compatible with the fleet's safety* and only until the 20th of May, when he was to repair with all speed to rejoin Vice-Admiral Benbow at Jamaica.[1] The receipt of these orders stiffened Walker's determination to resist any undue drainage of his ammunition supplies. Large quantities of powder and shot, it is true, were sent ashore; but the bombardment had only proceeded for two days when he informed Colonel Moses that he could not tell how, with safety to the ships, the batteries could be further supplied.

Disquieting rumours, too, were destroying the Commodore's confidence in the success of the expedition. News had leaked out of the arrival on the other side of the island of the French reinforcements from Martinique. He knew also that Codrington himself had led a force of 1,500 men against the Dod'ane without success, 'the place being too strong, as well by the trenches the enemy had made, as the natural situation by deep unpassable gullies and steep precipices'.

Accordingly on the 29th of March, when a request for further ammunition was received, Walker struck. The breach in the Fort, he had heard, was now large enough to be stormed, and yet more powder and shot was being demanded. He refused to send it, and insisted on a general council of war of military and naval officers being held on board the *Boyne* forthwith.

Next morning boats were sent for Codrington and the colonels. They returned empty. Instead, a council was held in the camp when Codrington laid Walker's letter before the assembled officers. The result was an explosion of anger. 'After some Consideration of y^{e} matter,' the record runs, 'It was y^{e} unanimous opinion of y^{e} whole Council of War y^{t} y^{e} s^{d} letters are

[1] Copy of Prince George's Instructions to Walker, pp. 13–15 of *Journal*.

y^e^ effects of ill nature, ill manners and Ignorance and if condescended to, would tend to y^e^ prejudice of y^e^ service and dishon^r^ of y^e^ Queen's Troops. The Generall added further y^t^ tho he took it as a p̄ticular affront to himselfe he would beare it patiently for y^e^ good of y^e^ service.'[1] A letter was immediately drawn up and dispatched, urging the Commodore at least to send six hundred cartridges with shot and wads for the eighteen- and twelve-pounders, 'without which 'twill be impossible to make y^e^ breach wide enough for an Attack'. It was also their unanimous desire that he should send all the boats of the fleet to assist in a false attack on the other side of the river, so as to direct attention from the main offensive.[2]

The critical moment had come: it was indeed now or never. But Walker's professional pride had been injured. 'I have orders', ran his stiff reply, 'to have respect and regard to y^e^ safety of her Ma^ties^ Ships, and not to spare either men, Guns, shott or powder, further then I Judg may consist therew^th^.'[3] Under the circumstances it is small wonder that the land officers completely lost their temper. They were not surprised at his conduct; it was of a piece with his previous attitude, particularly in staying away himself from the scene of action. 'We think that you interpret His Royal Highnes Orders, not onely very ridiculously, but very maliciously, and are well assured that the Advantage you pretend to draw from them will be so far from justifying you, that it will extreamly aggravate your present as well as your former scandalous and dishonourable proceedings.' For the honour of the English arms they called upon him to furnish the ammunition and the boats without which the enterprise could not possibly go forward.

[1] Copy of Proceedings of Councils of War held on board the *Boyne* and on land (C.O. 152/5, No. 48, i, *ut supra*).

[2] *Ibid.* Also quoted *in extenso* in the *Journal.* [3] *Ibid.*

'Having read this letter', writes Walker in his *Journal*, 'I dismist the messenger without any answer, and was now fully convinced y^t^ the General designed to foment a difference between the land and sea.' It was a pitiful business and none the less so by reason of its frequent occurrence in the annals of military history. One can appreciate the point of view of the naval officer responsible for the safety of his ships; the chief fault lay with the home authorities who had failed to establish unity of command.

To incur the onus of wrecking the expedition at the critical juncture was, however, more than the naval officers were prepared to do. At a full council they decided to furnish the required ammunition and to dispatch the boats for the false attack. H.M.S. *Yarmouth* and *Sunderland* were also ordered to batter the castle while the main offensive was being launched. Walker too did his part by going ashore and spending the evening with Codrington, who by way of returning the compliment insisted on escorting him back to the water-side. The following morning Walker removed one of the chief sources of friction by coming himself with the rest of the ships from the Bay of La Bayliffe to the scene of action at Basse Terre.

On the 3rd of April the final bombardment before the attack was begun. The *Yarmouth* and *Sunderland* stood in close to aid the field guns in battering the castle and raking the enemy's line of communication between the castle and the fort. For the time being close co-operation had been effected between army and navy. Walker himself went ashore and joined Codrington in watching the batteries at work. An incident occurred, however, which was hardly calculated to improve the Commodore's temper. Setting out together to walk to an observation post in the church steeple, Codrington's long strides and the stony pathless nature of the ground proved too much for the

sailor. 'He walking to fast for me,' writes Walker, 'and I endeavouring to follow him, fell down; and being open to the enemy's line of communication, they fired very thick at me.' Fortunately he escaped serious injury and was able to complete the tour of inspection.

For his part Codrington did his utmost to maintain cordial relations. That evening he entertained the Commodore in his lodgings and paid him the compliment of giving his name as the watchword for the night. 'And tho' I desired him not,' Walker relates, 'yet he would see me to my boat, being a pretty distance from his lodgings.'

At dawn the next morning the intensive bombardment was reopened, and with decisive results. By half-past six the French had had enough. The castle was blown up, and they retired to the fort and trenches across the river. Had the enemy stood their ground and awaited the infantry attack, the English would inevitably have suffered heavy losses before carrying the position. They afterwards discovered that the Castle was defended by a moat and drawbridge of which they had never heard.

The French, however, were now well on the run. Very soon the concentrated fire which was poured in upon the Fort and trenches obliged them to abandon these positions also. Without more ado the attacking infantry marched in and took possession.

By far the most difficult obstacle had thus been safely overcome. Despite delay and a succession of impediments Codrington's generalship had achieved success. The French were still formidable, protected as they were by the strong entrenchments of the Dod'ane, and reinforced by the troops from Martinique. Yet time was on the side of the English; a steady encirclement of this last stronghold combined with a sea blockade would have compelled capitulation. With

Guadeloupe secured, the taking of Martinique and the rest would be a comparatively easy task.

It is clear that such was Codrington's plan. Two days later (5 April) he sailed with the *Yarmouth* and *Maidstone* and six sloops to reconnoitre the eastward side of the island. Here the sea-shore was lined with troops and fortified by a number of breast-works. By way of testing the enemy's strength a raiding party of 500 men was landed which met with little opposition and burnt some houses and plantations.

All therefore was going well when Codrington encountered the greatest of his misfortunes. At this critical stage he became seriously ill. Already for some days he had been suffering from a bleeding flux, brought on by over-exertion. But fearing to discourage the men during the attack, he had said nothing about it. Heavy doses of drugs had kept him going until a severe cold destroyed the last remnants of resistance. He was now completely prostrate. Temporarily blind from the large quantities of laudanum which he had taken, he was at the same time tortured in his limbs by what seems to have been rheumatic fever.[1]

With the laying aside of Codrington, enthusiasm seems to have quickly evaporated. For some days he struggled to keep things going by issuing orders from the sick room; but not for long. Soon he was reported as 'uncapable of all manner of business'.

Several costly raids were now conducted in the neighbourhood of the Dod'ane, which only served to show that a waiting game was the only possible one. Unfortunately the navy was not prepared to wait. As the days passed with no definite results achieved, Walker grew convinced that the enterprise was doomed. His instructions required him to be at Jamaica by the 20th of May, and he was determined above all things

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (6 February 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 48.

to fulfil those orders. To tarry any longer, he felt, would involve a useless waste of men, food, and ammunition, and might throw him late. On the 24th of April he quietly wrote *finis* to the entire venture. 'And now provisions growing short, especially bread, and perceiving that nothing of any consequence could be done more against the enemy, I thought [it] time to consider of putting all y^e^ ships in a posture to receive y^e^ Soldiers aboard again, and gave orders to y^e^ Captains that y^e^ seamen now aboard, who had been landed w^th^ ye Soldiers, should not put ashoar again.' Next day a council of naval officers decided that in view of sickness and shortage of provisions, and that fifteen days of rest and refreshment at the Leeward Islands would be necessary before sailing for Jamaica, the fleet must get ready to put to sea forthwith. Formal notice of the decision was sent to Codrington. His feelings may be imagined.[1]

On the 3rd of May a general council of war made arrangements for the re-embarkation of the 2,277 men and officers, as well as the sick and wounded. Four days later, as the sun rose over the Guadeloupian Hills, the fleet stood out to the west. Behind them, Basse Terre, leaping in flames—and failure. 'Thus we left Guadeloupe,' writes Walker, 'Whereof we had got possession at the expense of many men's lives. . . . It never before suffered so much by any attempt from the English as at this time; all their guns being either carried off, sunk or burst, their fortifications utterly demolished, and a great part of their Plantations destroyed.' Indeed he goes farther. With a blockading force of four or five frigates and a thousand English soldiers ashore, 'the inhabitants must in a few months have been obliged to have surrendered themselves and

[1] On the 30th of April he was carried on board the *Maidstone*, which conveyed him home to Nevis. Cf. Luttrell's *Diary*, vol. v, pp. 311, 319.

beg'd a transportation to Martinico'.[1] Furthermore, he adds that, 'while cruisers could be afforded to command the seas, Martinico could not subsist'. A curious change of note from that of the day when he terminated the campaign on the ground that nothing further of consequence could be done against the foe. Codrington indeed afterwards charged him with being the prime cause of the failure, and asked for leave to come home to make his accusation good.[2]

Without doubt Walker was worthy of much blame for his timorous clinging to the letter of his instructions at a time when a broader conception of his duty would have resulted in vindicating the honour of English arms and the attainment of a fruitful victory. Nevertheless, the real onus of the failure lay with the home authorities. For the culpable procrastination and gross mismanagement they were chiefly to blame. Walker, it is true, had committed an act of folly in allowing his men to spend two months in debauchery at Barbados; but even more precious months had been wasted in England before the expedition was dispatched from Cadiz. The wrong type of ships had been sent, heavy slow-sailing men-of-war instead of frigates; field artillery and ammunition had been forgotten or ignored; and the troops themselves were 'almost naked without arms fit for service' and only half-officered. But by far the gravest blunder was the division of authority between the general and the commodore. 'I will venture to affirm very positively', wrote Codrington a year later, 'no

[1] Codrington, writing a year later, went farther. 'Guadaloupe was quitted, just when we were to reape y^e^ fruit of our hazards and fatigues, as we had indisputably done if the fleet had continued but five days longer for the arrival of Admiral Graydon.' Codrington to the Council of Trade (6 February 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 48.

[2] 'He alledges that through the negligence of Walker, the French threw in succours from Martinique, which was the reason the expedition miscarried; and therefore desires he may be recalled to make good his complaints' (Luttrell's *Diary*, vol. v, p. 351).

expedition can Succeed where there is not one Sole Commander, unless Providence should work a miracle and effect an agreement between the Land and Sea Officers.'[1] The elder Codrington in equal bitterness of heart had said exactly the same in 1690. Add to this the words, 'Too late', and the summary of the causes of failure of this and many another West Indian expedition is complete.[2]

Meanwhile, Codrington himself was passing through an evil time. For four weary months he tossed about in physical and mental agony, cut off from the world by blindness; four months in the shadowy region that lies between life and death. Then his sight slowly returned, and the pain in his head and limbs began to abate in response to frequent bathings at the hot springs. But the mind was slower in recovery. As all the energy and ardour of his mercurial temperament had been absorbed in the campaign at Guadeloupe the reaction was all the more extreme. During the long period of convalescence, when his mind returned again and again to the old sore, he sank into a fit of lethargy and despair. When at last on the 8th of August he broke silence to answer the repeated requests of the Lords of Trade for information,[3] he could only write them a short note. 'I still continue so wretchedly weak and my head so dizzey that I can scarce read your Lordships' letters, much less answer them as I should. . . . I expected a Furlow by this ordinary, but find myself abandon'd by all my friends. Never man who

[1] C.O. 152/5, No. 48, *ut supra.*

[2] Cf. the considered opinion of Sir Beville Granville, Governor of Barbados: 'The miscarriage is attributed to the time given the French to prepare themselves, the troops having bin here [at Barbados] since the beginning of December last, and to the misunderstanding between the sea and land officers, a thing which has bin fatall to all our expeditions in these parts, and will ever be so without one is obliged to obey the other.' Granville to Mr. Warre (4 June 1704), C.O. 28, 38, No. 12.

[3] Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm., House of Lords MSS.*, N.S., v, p. 326.

liv'd was ever reduc't to so low a condition as I have been; having lost every drop of blood in my veins, my eyesight and the use of my limbs. I believe I cannot perfectly recover wthout a voyage to Europe. I should have been very well content to have lost my life which everyone knows I ventur'd freely enough, provided Mr. Walker had done his duty.' Indeed, had that officer remained for the full time allotted, victory would have been assured. As it was the partial success had done more harm than good, the ruined planters of Guadeloupe having all turned pirates to the great loss and peril of the English.[1]

A similar note, written a week later to his friend, the Honourable Charles Boyle, reveals the same state of mind. 'If you recollect, dear Charles, how you were about two years since, and fancy a ten times worse condition, you will guess at my state of health.' He is still suffering from paralysis of the limbs, 'which I now only begin to drag'. He has written to Lord Normanby asking him to procure a furlough. Will Charles be good enough to wait on him and press the suit? And then the writer ends abruptly as though his strength were at an end. 'I am so spiritless I can write you of no business. Pray continue to love me and believe me ever.'[2] Another letter to the same recipient, written three months later, is more vigorous. The writer has regained much of his former grip on life, though he is not yet clear of the slough of despond. 'You told me in your last', he writes, 'you believed our

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (8 August 1703), C.O. 152/5, No. 33.

[2] Codrington MSS. B. Codrington to Boyle (14 August 1703). The collection referred to as Codrington MSS. B consists of five letters by Codrington to Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, which were purchased among some old junk by Mr. H. Peach of Leicester, who presented them to Codrington College, Barbados. I am indebted to the Rev. J. C. Wippell, M.A., Principal of the College, for kindly supplying me with printed copies of these letters.

great men had not taken y^e^ right measures in y^e^ Indies. You may venture to assert it boldly, and I will take upon me to make it out; for if y^e^ French Cabinet Council had been employed to draw instructions for us, they would scarce have contrived any[thing] so absurd and so pernicious. I must not speak freely on this subject and had therefore better say nothing.' Turning to other matters, he reviews the political situation in England and on the Continent. What attitude will the newly elected English Parliament adopt? Is there any justification for the Allies' optimism in believing that Spain will reject the Bourbon for Habsburg? And then the old weariness returns. 'Let us leave our speculation and have patience to see what that will produce. I know not whether it be my loss of blood which has made me spiritless, but I myself do [rather] despair than hope.'[1]

Meantime, a further disappointment was preparing. On receipt of the Governor's letter urging an immediate grant of leave, the Lords of Trade wrote to the Earl of Nottingham, the Secretary of State, advising that leave be accordingly granted, 'and that in this conjuncture it will be necessary for the security of those Islands that another Person be forthwith appointed for that Government.'[2] Acting on this advice the Queen in the following December formally confirmed the appointment of Sir William Matthew as the new Governor.[3]

[1] *Ibid.* Same to same (7 November 1703). Codrington adds a postscript: 'My services to my good Lady—my Lords Lorn, Henlington and Windsor—Colonel Stanhope and all my friends.'

[2] Council of Trade to the Earl of Nottingham (19 October 1703), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 1160. A week later the Council wrote to Codrington that, 'observing by this the continuance of your desire that you may have leave to return to England, and your complaint of being abandon'd by your friends in that matter. We have communicated the same to the Earl of Nottingham' (*ibid.*, 28 October, No. 1202).

[3] See Nottingham to Council of Trade (27 December 1703), *Cal. Col.*, 1702–3, No. 1421.

To Codrington the news naturally came as a bitter blow. Broken as he was, the release would in ordinary circumstances have been very acceptable. But to be summarily dismissed, while under an undeserved cloud, afforded him the keenest mortification. When a rumour of what had occurred reached the Leeward Islands in January 1704, he sent a letter of dignified protest to the Earl of Peterborough. 'I humbly hope, my Lord, there will be noe successor thought of for me till I have had y^e^ honour of kissing Her Majesty's hands, as [it is] an affront y^t^ I most humbly beg leave to say my faithfull, zealous and expensive services have not deserved.' If the Government decided that the Governor-Generalship must not be left to a deputy in this time of extreme peril, he was prepared to forgo his leave, and (health permitting) remain at the post of danger until the end of the war. The planters are panic-stricken and ready to desert *en masse*; 'but', he adds with brusque self-confidence, 'I may say without vanity, since I have had y^e^ experience of it, y^t^ y^e^ people will doe their duty more cheerfully when I am at y^e^ head of them than under any one else'.[1] But it was not to be.

The conduct of a man under harsh and unjust treatment is usually the best indication of his calibre. To a small man it would have been a strong temptation under such circumstances to lose interest in his work and do little to aid his successor. It is to Codrington's honour that the last few months were among the most fruitful of his régime.

Sense of duty, however, did not obliterate resentment. In a letter to the Lords of Trade he stressed the fact that as yet he had not even received leave to come home, despite the efforts of Charles Boyle (now Earl of Orrery) on his behalf. Furthermore, in return for over four years' service, he had received but one

[1] Codrington to Peterborough (17 January 1704), C.O. 7/1, No. 4.

year's salary. 'Y^e worst of servants', he bitterly remarks, 'are paid their wages when they are turned off.' Yet he adds, 'I shall bear this and everything else patiently, till some mistakes are rectified, w^ch I must believe I lye under, or else I cannot think the Queen would have given away my Government before I had had y^e honour to kiss her hands and give her an account of my conduct.'[1] He is prepared to await the issue, confident of speedy vindication. In the meantime he will use every effort to complete his work of judicial reform before Matthew arrives. That done he will then, 'as a Private Gentleman and Planter endeavour to be as serviceable to y^e respective Governors, and to promote Her Majesty's and y^e English interest w^th as much zeal and sincerity as if I still were Commander here'.[2]

At home the slur on Codrington's good name was quickly removed. By request of the Earl of Peterborough, who was staunchly supporting his friend, the Privy Council appointed a committee to consider the complaints against Commodore Walker. Armed with Codrington's dispatches to the Council of Trade, the Committee opened the inquiry on the 29th of April 1704, Peterborough prosecuting on Codrington's behalf. After a second hearing the Committee acquitted Walker, releasing him from further attendance. Finally, on the 4th of May it was concluded that the failure

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (14 February 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 50. This and other documents quoted above disprove the error so often repeated (e.g. in Burrows's *Worthies of All Souls*, p. 334; and *Memoir of the Family of Codrington*, Letchworth, 1910, p. 131) that Codrington resigned his post instead of being superseded. The mistake may have arisen from the wording of a minute of the House of Lords: 'her Majesty having been pleased, upon the desire of Colonel Codrington to be recalled from his government of the Leeward Islands, to appoint Sir William Matthew . . .' (*Hist. MSS. Comm., House of Lords MSS.*, N.S., vi, 1704, p. 106). Codrington had asked for furlough, not immediate supersession.

[2] Codrington to Popple (2 March 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 61.

to achieve complete victory at Guadeloupe was mainly due to two reasons; firstly, that the Government of Barbados had failed to notify Codrington of Walker's arrival at that island, and in the second place, that the provisions sent with the expedition were for the most part unfit for use.[1] Moreover, on the same day that this decision was being made, the Lords of Trade themselves wrote to Codrington assuring him of their goodwill and support.

'I was executed and then acquitted', was his dry rejoinder. Pleased as he was at this personal vindication, he was nevertheless profoundly dissatisfied with the care-free manner in which the bungling of the home executive had been slurred over. 'The Ministers, and y^e^ Nation too, I find, are easily satisfyed as to y^e^ affair of Guadaloupe, as well as other expeditions. Somebody has been to blame, . . . but Truth will appear in time and miscarriages prevented, for y^e^ Nation does not seem to have either blood or treasure to be threwn away. Something considerable might have been done for ye service of England in America, but y^e^ opportunity is irretrivable. I have not been wanting in my little station and might have been made more usefull.'[2] Such is Codrington's final comment on an enterprise which had been intended to drive the French from the West Indies.

Meantime, he was bending all his energy to the task of completing the judicial reforms which had been interrupted by the successive campaigns at St. Chris-

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), vol. ii, 1680–1720, No. 932 (pp. 469–71). Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, Nos. 238, 239. Sir Beville Granville, the Governor of Barbados, and the Prince of Denmark (as Lord High Admiral) were accordingly ordered to make inquiry in the respective defalcations. For the reply of the former see *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 432, and for that of the latter see *Acts of the Privy Council* (*ut supra*), p. 471.

[2] Codrington to the Council of Trade (8 July 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 75.

topher and Guadeloupe. The Antiguans, however, who were the first to be dealt with, were in no mood to accept a new legal procedure which would compel the prompt payment of debts. Always inclined to be fractious, their extreme weakness and peril at this time brought them to the point of distraction. Intimately acquainted with their difficulties and their mentality, Codrington felt that they were 'rather to be pityed than blamed'. But the work of reform must proceed nevertheless. On one occasion he had actually induced them to begin, when a rumour that the Home Government intended to concentrate on the defence of Jamaica and abandon the Leewards roused them to such fury that nothing could be done with them. Yet gradually by dint of infinite patience and persistence Codrington gained his point. In February 1704 he reported the fact with conscious pride to the Lords of Trade. 'I now send y^{r} Lord^{ps} a much better Act of Courts than is any where in y^{e} Indys, or perhaps any where else. To gain this point has cost me more pains than I shall trouble y^{r} Lord^{ps} wth an acc^{t} of; 'tis at last well got over.' Merchants suing for recovery of debts will have no further cause for complaint. 'And my successor will have little to doe but to see this Act, and y^{t} of y^{e} militia duly executed to keep all things in good order.'[1]

The reply of their Lordships was to compliment Codrington on his valuable piece of work. The Act appeared to them to be well contrived, and if passed by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General would be laid before Her Majesty for confirmation. It was, therefore, little short of a catastrophe when the Solicitor-General procured annulment of the Act on a point of law.[2]

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (? February 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 59.

[2] Council of Trade to the Queen (1 November 1705), *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 1420.

The objection seems to have been that the measure enacted a method of obtaining speedy justice which would thus become fixed and perpetual; whereas the regular course was periodically to specify judicial procedure in each Governor's Instructions, which could be altered by the Crown at will. In other words, an admittedly excellent solution of one of the most serious problems of colonial administration was deliberately rejected. Apparently it was better to continue an inefficient system under direct royal control than to sanction a good one which would need no such supervision.

Continuing the work of reform, Codrington left Antigua for Nevis, where also he experienced some difficulty in persuading the planters to reorganize their courts so as to ensure elementary justice being done to the English merchant. From a letter written at this time it seems evident that if he had continued as Governor, Codrington would have gone much farther in protecting English trade. He seems to have contemplated a complete overhauling of the island constitutions in order to make a rigid enforcement of the Navigation Acts a feasible proposition.[1] From Nevis he sailed (about the 3rd of March) to St. Kitts, the most turbulent of all the settlements. Indeed, he was very doubtful of being able to effect any reforms there, 'for they are a parcell of Banditts, and w^d willingly be without government, religion, or any appearance of order.[2] Subsequent events justified the surmise. For three months he laboured without intermission to keep the law courts going and to obtain the passage of a number of Acts that were essential for the continuance of good government. By the middle of May his task was nearly done. One abuse, however, was beyond his power to redress. For all the Leeward Islands there

[1] See Codrington to Mr. Popple (2 March 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 61.

[2] *Ibid.*

was one Provost-Marshal and one Secretary, who appointed deputies to carry out their respective duties in each island, a system which, as Codrington urged, was a potent cause of disorder and corruption. 'The Deputys' places are so little worth, that none but scoundrills will accept them. And to threaten to turn them out is a jest, for 'tis very hard to find any person at all to officiate, since they can gett as much or more with less attendance by being overseers or bookkeepers.' Let the Home Government secure efficient civil service by appointing a marshal and secretary with adequate pay for every island.[1]

Thus he toiled till another should come to take his place, purifying the administration wherever his authority allowed and suggesting reforms to the Mother Country in matters beyond his jurisdiction. Had the majority of colonial governors served their communities in this spirit the history of the old Empire might have been a different story. Situated in a dangerous post at a time of extreme peril, he had spared neither health nor fortune in the performance of his onerous duties. Ruling with a firm and sometimes a high hand, he had led and inspired the planters in the field, and in their island homes had striven to inculcate a high tradition of public service. Now that his term of office as Governor-General of the Leeward Islands was terminated, he was fit and ready to serve Her Majesty however she might direct. 'I thank God', he wrote, 'I have perfectly recovered my limbs and strength, and will serve the Queen somewhere or other during the warr, tho it be with a muskett on my sholder.'[2]

[1] Cf. the statement of Lieut.-Governor Johnson (6 February 1705): 'The great complaint here is against Secretarys and Marshalls, and it's in everybody's mouth, that till these imploys are put on a better foot, it signifies very little whether there are any laws or not' (*Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 846).

[2] Codrington to Popple (13 May 1704), C.O. 152/5, No. 70.

Months passed by, however, before Sir William Matthew made his appearance. At last on the 14th of July 1704 his ship sailed into Antigua. Welcomed by Codrington, his Commission was publicly read the same evening, and he was formally installed as Governor-General. From the little we know of him, Matthew appears to have had the making of a conscientious and upright ruler. A tour of all the Leeward Colonies was promptly undertaken, with the result that he urged the immediate supply of guns and a frigate for the protection of their bodies, and six ministers for the good of their souls.[1] But his allotted time was short. On the 25th of November, as he sat writing a dispatch, he was suddenly seized with a serious illness. Ten days later he was dead.[2] The West Indies, no less than other tropical regions of the Empire, have taken a heavy toll of lives from those who have gone to serve them.

Two days later Codrington wrote to the Lords of Trade offering his services. There was still much that he would like to see done in reforming the law courts; and a Governor from England, unacquainted with the temper of the people, would have little chance of success, even if he should design it. 'I cannot tell y^r^ Lord^ps^ possitively I shall, for a Gentl. much wiser and abler than myself with all the address and diligence possible must take a great deal of pains to doe very little good. But my Lords, I humbly propose I may not serve to my loss as I have hitherto done; £1,600 a year is as little as a Chief Governor can possibly subsist on.' Continuing, he suggested a number of ways in which the executive may be simplified and rendered more efficient.[3]

1 *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, Nos. 544, 584, 592.

2 *Ibid.*, Nos. 678 and 705.

3 Codrington to the Council of Trade (6 Dec. 1704), C.O. 152/6, No. 7.

Originally Codrington's intention had been to leave the Leeward Islands for ever, pay a short visit to his Barbadian plantations, and then return to his old life in England.[1] But about this time he was disgusted to hear from Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, that the Duke of Buckingham and the Tory clique at home were doing their utmost to thwart and discredit the brilliant achievements of Marlborough in the Netherlands. 'My inclination', he wrote in reply, 'to continue here is very much increast by y^e^ account you give me of affairs, for I know not how I can be useful at home; and I am sure I can be very useful here. . . . I should believe y^e^ jealous men of both sides might at least defer y^e^ decision of such important points as they are engaged about till the public quarrel is fully determined. I know you my friend,' he adds, 'and am sure of your good offices, if it lies in your way to make them useful to me. I desire you'll give my services to y^e^ Chancellor of y^e^ Exchequer and beg his favour. I would not be idle, and think myself fittest for this employ of any that I believe he would afford me.'[2]

The reply of the Council of Trade was encouraging. They had received Codrington's application, and were laying the matter before Her Majesty 'in the most advantageous manner'.[3] Unfortunately the representation was in vain. The office had been already promised to Colonel Daniel Parke as a reward for bringing the good tidings of Blenheim to his Sovereign. Unfor-

[1] Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, Nos. 148, 316, 446.

[2] Codrington MSS. B, Codrington to the Earl of Orrery (5 February 1705): 'My Lord Duke of Marlborough', Codrington wrote in this letter, 'I doubt not is envied, tho' the envy be secret, and those who had so little care of y^e^ public as to tack the occasional Bill [of Conformity] to y^e^ tax seemed to have no mind [that] that great man should have an army next year, for fear he should do too much service with it.' For an account of this Tory intrigue against Marlborough see Coxe, *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough*, vol. i, chap. 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 933. See also No. 942.

tunately, because the subsequent régime of Parke was one of the most vicious that the British West Indies ever had the misfortune to endure.

When news of this last disappointment was conveyed to Codrington, the reply was characteristic of the man. 'I have what I aim'd at, tho' I have been denyd the Government, y^e^ assurance of y^r^ Lordsps' good opinion; and y^e^ honour of the representation you entended are infinitely more valuable than this or any other post, tho' I should have been pleased with Her Majesty's acceptance of my services.'[1]

[1] Codrington to the Council of Trade (24 May 1705), C.O. 152/6, No. 15.

VIII

IN RETIREMENT (1705–10)

FOR the following eighteen months the Leeward Islands were ruled by John Johnson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nevis, upon whom the government automatically devolved on the death of the Governor-General.[1] Appointed by Codrington as Deputy-Governor of Nevis on the 1st of July 1703, he had owed a series of previous promotions to the favour of the same patron. It was to Codrington, now merely a councillor of Antigua, to whom he turned for advice and guidance in his difficult task.[2] Indeed, the ex-Governor-General seems to have been the power behind the throne; but to what extent we can only hazard a guess. His graphic nervous letters to the Council of Trade have come to an end. For the remainder of his life we have to depend upon the statements of other, and often biased, correspondents.

The hand of the master, however, can often be detected in the work of the pupil. One of Codrington's last acts as Governor had been to pass a Bill providing a fund for the completion of the fortress on Monk's Hill in Antigua, which had been eight years in the building.[3] Not only was this task now undertaken and

[1] See *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 792.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 454, 479. That he well deserved the favour shown by his patron is indicated in a report of Sir Wm. Matthew, in which he states that Nevis was the best defended island in the Government. 'I must do Lt. Governor Johnson that justice to tell your Lordp, it is chiefly owing to his great care and diligence, and that his zeal for Her Majesty's service truly deserves your Lordshipp's favour' (*ibid.*, No. 544). This and other statements refute Governor Parke's subsequent charges that Johnson was a mere puppet, wholly illiterate and incompetent.

[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 446.

completed, but Johnson threw all his energy into building up an adequate defensive system for every island. Forts and platforms were repaired, and ammunition, mortars, gun-carriages, and some light frigates were sought from England. And perhaps even more significant, the law courts were carefully supervised and speeded up.[1]

Yet Johnson was far from being a Codrington. Once the latter's stern hand was removed, the old familiar faces of turbulence and faction made their unwelcome appearance. As ever the storm centre was St. Christopher. Writing from that island in July 1705 he wishes that Parke would arrive, for he is weary of the ill-natured and troublesome people with whom he has to deal. Because he refused to sanction laws encroaching on the Queen's prerogative, the Assembly had ungratefully turned the soldiers out of their indifferent quarters, into the open field, 'where both officers and soldiers are forced to build themselves hutts for their cover'.[2] Neither pleading nor cajoling could avail to induce them to take any measures for defence, though Johnson knew only too well the urgent necessity for preparation. A catastrophe was shortly to occur that laid St. Kitts in ashes.

On the 4th of February 1706 a French squadron of seven men-of-war and twenty-three brigantines and sloops, under the Comte de Chavagnac, suddenly appeared off the Antiguan coast. Fortunately a stiff northerly gale was blowing, which prevented all but the smallest craft from beating close in to the shore. To land was obviously impossible. At noon on the following day the fleet drew off to leeward, and bore away for Nevis, where they anchored that evening before the town. The forts and platforms previously erected by Johnson were speedily manned and proved

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 860, 969, 970, 1344.
[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, Nos. 1215, 1281.

their worth, while troops were hurried over from Antigua to guard the back of the island. Codrington himself may have been in command of this contingent, though it seems more probable that he remained behind to defend Antigua. For five days an intermittent artillery duel was kept up between the ships and the coastal batteries; and on several occasions troops were ordered into the boats to essay a landing. But each time they were ordered back on board in view of the powerful dispositions of the defending force.

Thus doubly thwarted, the French threw the full weight of their attack upon the weak and ill-prepared planters of St. Kitts. Arriving in Basse Terre Road on the 10th, the enemy divided their force of 2,300 men into three columns which were landed, one at Basse Terre itself, another in Frigate Bay, and the third at Belletâtes Point. In the face of so powerful an attack, the energetic Governor, Walter Hamilton, with his 700 men could do but little. Keeping in touch with the advancing columns, he retreated to the central position on Brimstone Hill, whither the women and children had already been conveyed. On the way thither, the position was rendered even more desperate by the mutiny and desertion of three English captains.

By the 12th of February the French had advanced as far as Godwin Gut, where they turned Codrington's house into a temporary head-quarters. Then gaining control of the pass through the Gut, they proceeded to devastate the island. Soon the towns of Palmeta Point and Basse Terre and every dwelling from the harbour to Brimstone Hill (including that of Codrington) was laid in ashes. All plantations and mills were totally wrecked and about 600 negro slaves carried off. It was a grim lesson for the recalcitrant planters who had turned a deaf ear to repeated warnings.

The complete extinction of the English colony appeared to be imminent, when suddenly at midnight

on the 17th, De Chavagnac precipitately ordered his forces to embark and sailed away in haste for Martinique. The reason for so swift a withdrawal appears to have been a rumour that an English fleet was on its way thither from Europe.[1]

Hardly, however, had the distracted planters begun to look about them, when another and a more crushing blow was delivered. In the afternoon of the 21st of March, a French fleet, fifty strong, hove in sight of Nevis. Alarm guns were immediately fired to hasten the people to their several posts. Through the criminal negligence of Colonel Burt and Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, the enemy was allowed to land 3,000 men that evening at Green Bay, whence they were able to take the forts in the rear. By midday they were also masters of Charles Town. The attack, in fact, had taken Nevis completely unawares, and at a time when her military strength was exceptionally low. Unwisely, as it seems, Governor Johnson had taken almost the whole of Colonel Whetham's regiment of regulars with him to Antigua, thereby reducing the defending force at Nevis to 400 men.

The French numbers were accordingly irresistible in open fight. But the abject surrender of an almost impregnable fortress can be neither condoned nor excused. Colonel Abbot, the English commander, with a mere handful gallantly resisted the oncoming French. But when they reached the Dod'ane in the mountains, it was to find that the leading planters with the main body were already there, having failed to make any resistance whatsoever. Furthermore, when the enemy marched up on Sunday morning the 24th, they surrendered on abject terms without firing a shot, earning thereby the contempt not only of Iberville,

[1] The above account is drawn from (*a*) the narrative of Governor Johnson (*Cal. Col.*, 1705–6, No. 168); (*b*) Lieut.-Governor Hamilton's Journal (*ibid.*, No. 195, i).

the French Commander, but also of their own armed negroes, who had fought with resolution.

Iberville's contempt was certainly justified; his barbarous ferocity, however, is inexcusable. In direct violation of the terms of capitulation, he not only burnt down the greater part of the houses and mills in the island, but crowded his unfortunate prisoners in the church and jail of Charles Town, where small-pox was raging, and kept them there for ten days without food or water. On the 10th of April he embarked his troops and sailed away, taking with him enormous plunder, a great number of slaves, and four hostages to ensure the delivery at Martinique of a further 1,400 negroes which he had extorted.[1]

Iberville had planned his attack as a destructive raid, and not as a conquering invasion. His purpose had thus been abundantly fulfilled. At Nevis the damage inflicted was estimated at £500,000. And worse still the inhabitants of both St. Christopher and Nevis were plunged in misery and grave disorder. To Codrington, whose own plantations had been devastated, the experience must have been especially bitter. All his labours seemed undone. Johnson had undoubtedly done his best; but it is difficult to realize that the islanders who had followed Codrington to victory in driving the French from St. Kitts and storming the fortresses of Guadeloupe were the same men who, under Johnson, surrendered their own homes in such dispirited and craven fashion.

Such then was the gloomy state of the Leeward

[1] The sources for the above account comprise the following documents: *Cal. Col.*, 1705–6, Nos. 270, 274, 275, 282, 284, 318, 338, 357 ii, 406, 519, 563, 654, 1200. The arrival of a British squadron relieved Nevis from paying the 1,400 slaves, which, the Home Government decided, had been extorted by force and contrary to international law. Moreover, upon a petition to the House of Commons, a grant in aid was made to supply the starving islanders with food and other necessaries, and a commission was set up on the spot to distribute it (*ibid.*, Nos. 342, 355, 804 i, 1048, 1063; *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 127, 130).

Islands when on the 14th of July 1706 the new Governor-General, Daniel Parke, arrived and assumed command. A fretful people, sorely tried and with nerves on edge, awaited him. To rule them was a delicate task at any time; to lead them now was a task that called for tact, insight, and imagination of the highest order. Daniel Parke was not that man. His previous record was a fair index of the good and the bad within him. The son of a tobacco planter in Virginia, he had (according to a contemporary account) when only fifteen years of age married a lady of great fortune in that country, whom he afterwards deserted for a guardsman's wife in England who became his mistress.[1] However that may be, he was certainly in 1693 a member of the Virginian Assembly and escheator for York County, in the latter capacity provoking complaints for his maladministration.[2] Two years later he was sworn a member of the Council and took part in the military organization of the colony.[3] In 1697 he vacated his offices and departed to England without obtaining leave.[4]

Here he amassed a considerable fortune in the tobacco trade, and bought a country seat near Whitchurch. His ambition then taking a political turn, he stood for the Malmesbury division at the General Election of 1701. By dint of lavish bribery on his own part and the exercise of pressure by the Earl of Peterborough, he carried the day. Unfortunately for both of them the corruption was discovered and exposed, Parke being expelled the House and Peterborough subjected to a vote of censure.[5] Proceeding then as a

1 *The Political State of Great Britain*, number for May 1711, p. 335.
2 *Cal. Col.*, 1693–6, Nos. 146, 615; *Cal. Col.*, 1699, No. 472.
3 *Ibid.*, 1693–6, Nos. 638, 1883, 2044, 2184, 2191.
4 *Ibid.*, 1700, Nos. 523, xxvi, and 681.
5 *The Political State of Great Britain* (*ut supra*). Cf. W. Stebbing, *Peterborough* (English Men of Action Series), pp. 43–4.

volunteer to Flanders, he succeeded in attracting the attention of the Duke of Marlborough, who in 1704 appointed him as one of his aides-de-camp.

Immediately after the battle of Blenheim Marlborough scrawled a hasty note to his Duchess announcing the victory. Commissioned to carry the note home forthwith, Parke made the most of the occasion by spreading the glad tidings among the allied Princes, who rewarded their informant with a number of medallions and gold chains. Arriving at Court he was introduced to the Queen by the redoubtable Sarah. And on being offered the usual gratification of £500 for the good news, he asked for a portrait of the Queen instead, who responded by assuring him of her grace and favour.[1] After a period of assiduous attendance at Court, he asked for the governorship of Virginia, which then fell vacant, but was told that he had come some hours too late.[2] On the death of Sir William Matthew, however, he gained his end. Despite the strong recommendation of the Lords of Trade in support of Codrington, Parke in March 1705 was chosen Governor-General of the Leeward Islands.[3]

Such then was the previous career of the man who stepped ashore at Antigua on the 14th of July 1706, and whose venomous hatred was to drive Codrington from the Leeward Islands to spend his last years in seclusion.

The two men had previously met in London during the years 1698 to 1700, when they had been on friendly terms. Parke indeed believed that he had been named an executor in a will which Codrington had made before going out to the Indies. Unfortunately the new Governor had conceived a violent jealousy against his

[1] Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol. i, pp. 305–6 (London, 1818 ed.).

[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1704–5, No. 930.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 980.

predecessor. It irked him that one who was revered alike by planters and home authorities should be on the spot to see and criticize his every act. Even before he left England he had informed the Lords of Trade that he expected to have trouble with Codrington. His own arrogant conduct ensured that he should.

Within a few weeks the trouble began. In accordance with his instructions, Parke ordered Codrington to repay to one Samuel Baron the value of a ship named the *America* and its cargo. The story was an old one. In March 1701 the *America* had been seized on a charge of engaging in illegal trade, but the case had been dismissed by the Admiralty Court at Antigua. Convinced that the ends of justice had been defeated, Codrington, as Governor-General, reversed the sentence and confiscated both ship and cargo. Baron thereupon appealed to the High Court of Admiralty in England which decided in his favour. Absorbed as he then was in his campaign against illegal trade and corrupt administration, Codrington obstinately (and foolishly) refused to comply with the repeated orders of the Privy Council to recompense Baron. And now in response to Parke's peremptory summons, he answered that he was prepared to fight the case in court.[1]

A further source of friction was afforded when the Governor fulfilled another order by raking up an old demand for the delivery of all prizes taken from the French during the previous war. Seeing that the Treasury had failed to pay the elder Codrington four years' salary, which had cost his son £3,000 to secure,

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, No. 839. For the history of the case see *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), vol. ii, pp. 377–9. The re-trial in the Leeward Islands seems never to have taken place. Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, Nos. 1077, 1314; *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 374, 381; *Journal of Trade and Plantations*, 1709–15, p. 8.

the latter was in no mood to comply, and said so with vigour.[1]

Undoubtedly Codrington's hauteur had aroused all the worst side of Parke's nature. By nature a bully, he openly set to work to humiliate his opponent. 'I hope to deel w^th^ him well enough,' he wrote to the Lords of Trade. From his own point of view, his next step was unfortunate. Acting on a formal clause in his instructions which required him to examine the authority by which subordinate officials held their posts, he summoned Codrington on the 18th of March 1707 to show cause why he should not be deprived of his control of the island of Barbuda. As we have seen, this barren island of 40,000 acres had been originally leased by the Crown to the elder Codrington and his brother John on the 1st of October 1669 for the term of thirty-two years. On the 29th of January 1684 a new patent was issued, regranting them the island for fifty years. Having built a castle there, John looked after the property until his death shortly afterwards,[2] when the island came under the sole proprietorship of his brother. In 1698 the younger Christopher came into possession and continued to use the island for growing maize and other food-stuffs for his negroes. Finally, on the 5th of June 1705, Governor Johnson made a further grant of Barbuda to Christopher Codrington for ninety-nine years at the rent of a fat sheep yearly.[3]

Thus Parke's attempt to deprive Codrington of a

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, No. 472.

[2] Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm., Downshire MSS.*, Papers of Sir Wm. Turnbull, p. 253, Mr. Edmund Sawbell to Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Martin (7 July 1687): 'They [i.e. a fleet of alleged buccaneers] bore away for the lands of Mevis and Antego, and it is said they are landed at Berbuda, inhabited only by Captain Codrington who is sole proprietor thereof.'

[3] V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, London, 1896, vol. ii, pp. 169–70. Other names are added to those of the two Codringtons in the patents of 1669–84, but these appear to have been bought out.

possession which had been lawfully held by the family for thirty-seven years was quite unjustified. For his part Codrington indignantly refused to give any account of his title, which was well known to every planter in the Leeward Islands. Moreover, the Antigua Council refused to support the Governor, advising him to let the matter drop, which he reluctantly did. When this episode was subsequently used as a charge against him, he replied that he had merely followed his general instructions. But it is worthy of note that he afterwards made a similar attempt to dispossess Christopher's heir, William Codrington.[1]

A more successful and more flagrant attack was carried out by Parke at St. Christopher. After the rapid conquest of the French part of that island in 1693, Codrington had been rewarded with a grant of 763 acres there, whereon he had erected buildings, stocking it with negroes and proper utensils. On the plea that it was safer to settle the island with a large number of small owners than a few absentee proprietors, Parke revoked the grant, thus depriving his enemy, not only of the estate which had been given to him in token of public gratitude, but also of the capital expended thereon.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, to find Codrington writing home to his friend Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, in deep indignation. 'I continue my resolution', he says, 'of leaving the Indies y^e^ beginning of January (1707). It is impossible for me to live with our brute of a General—he is a perfect frenzy of avarice.'[3]

In short, Parke had been commissioned with a delicate task when ordered to bring an ex-Governor-

[1] Cf. Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, London, 1741, vol. ii, pp. 208–9.

[2] See William Codrington's petition for restitution, *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial Series, vol. ii, No. 1274 (29 August 1718).

[3] Codrington MSS. B, Codrington to Orrery (19 September 1706).

General to book. Knowing Codrington's temper, and fearing the result, he had cloaked his fear in arrogance. Smarting with resentment, Codrington, on his side, had evinced a violent hostility, which was only intensified by the subsequent injuries inflicted.

Parke's mentality was a curious one. He was a place-hunter, whose chief business in life was the manipulation of his patron in order to secure the maximum of material advantage for himself—a characteristic only too common in the eighteenth century. He had come out to the West Indies expecting a post that would be at once lucrative in itself and a stepping-stone to further honours at home; and he had been bitterly disillusioned. As we have already seen, the Leeward Islands had been thrown into misery and confusion by two destructive attacks by the French. After the raids came pestilence. And hardly had the planters begun to recover from these disasters, when a terrible hurricane burst upon them, destroying all vegetation and wrecking every building in its path. The ruined and distracted people were more inclined to give the new Governor hard blows instead of shillings.

Within a month of his arrival he began to write home in the manner of a peevish, disappointed man. 'If I have my brains knokt out, the Queen must send some other unfortunate Divel here to be roasted in the sun, without the prospect of getting anything.'[1] Again—'I hope if I deserve well, the Queen will give me something better, for I can never gett anything here.'[2] 'When I brought the Queen the good news [of Blenheim], I had her royal word that she would take care of my ffortune: I think Her Majesty cannot do it worse, if she does it at all.'[3] 'Cou'd I have foreseen', he

[1] Parke to the Council of Trade (28 August 1706), C.O. 152/6, No. 63.

[2] Parke to Secretary Hedges (31 October 1706), C.O. 239/1, No. 16.

[3] Parke to the Council of Trade (6 March 1708), C.O. 152/7, No. 45.

writes at another time, 'what I was to suffer, and how little 'twas possible for me to gett, I wou'd never have come over.'[1] And so on, in the same strain, in almost every letter.

At the same time he attributed all his woes to the hostility of Codrington, against whom he never lost an opportunity of casting abuse. Writing in October 1706 he inveighed quite rightly against the ousting of the small-holders, who were the backbone of every colony, by rich proprietors. He then went on to assert that Codrington had done his best to ruin St. Kitts by making large grants of the conquered French district to none but opulent absentees—a statement which is flatly contradicted by independent evidence.[2] Equally distorted was the statement that Governor Johnson had been the puppet of his arbitrary and tyrannical patron, and could neither read nor write.[3] Finally, the home authorities began to lose patience. 'I am very sorry', wrote the Earl of Sunderland, 'to hear of any misunderstanding between you and Col. Codrington, or any one else, but hope your own prudence and temper will overcome these difficultys. I know of no better way to secure you in your post than by a ffaithful and diligent discharge of your trust.'[4]

Violent and unrestrained as he was in speech and action, Parke was not inefficient. Immediately on his arrival he made a tour of the islands, urging and persuading the demoralized inhabitants to concert measures for their defence, and the Home Government

[1] Parke to the Council of Trade (4 August 1707), C.O. 152/7, No. 27.

[2] See Governor Johnson's report to the Lords of Trade (17 September 1705): 'I herewith send an account of the number of men in Her Majesty's conquest of St. Christopher's that are fitt to bear armes, which consists of about 150 wth their familys, who have all temporary grants from Generall Codrington and myself, for 5, 10, and 20 acres of land, few exceeding that' (C.O. 152/6, No. 37).

[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, No. 491.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1549 (16 June 1708).

to supply more troops and guns. Very soundly, too, he pointed out that if an English expedition were sent out to destroy Martinique, the English islands would be rendered virtually secure. Equally just was his estimate of the *latifundia* problem. The islands were growing more and more helpless as the white population decreased, owing to the buying out of the poor by their richer neighbours. He realized, too, the glaring abuses in the judicial system, and endeavoured to pass a Reform Bill on the lines of Codrington's Act which had been vetoed at home.

But a man may be an efficient administrator without being a good ruler. Where Parke failed so disastrously was in his personal dealings with individual planters. If Codrington had been the only important inhabitant to become hostile to the Governor, the onus would have probably lain with the former. But one by one the leading planters drew away from Parke in disgust and anger, until finally the islands were aflame against him. Violent they had always been, and still were—as the murder of ex-Governor Johnson served to show.[1] But they were always ready to follow the lead of a man whom they respected. Parke claimed that the storm of opposition against him was due to his unbending resistance to corruption and the tyranny of the rich over the poor. Yet Codrington had been equally unbending, and had won general admiration and secured reform.

Doubtless the new Governor's stringency was a source of irritation; but the most orderly community

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, Nos. 491, 559, 653, &c. Pogson, the murderer, was acquitted by a packed jury. Pogson was the man who had kept possession of the Godwyn manor in St. Kitts for Freeman. Codrington's vindication by the House of Commons in that dispute naturally aroused his bitter enmity which he seems to have visited upon Johnson, who, when acting as Governor, suspended him from the Council. 'This I may say', wrote Parke, 'Col. Johnston dyed Col. Codrington's martyr.'

is justifiably irritated when the reformer himself debauches the wives and daughters of those whom he is endeavouring to improve. There is clear evidence to show that Parke's régime was an orgy of lust. The planters themselves were no Puritans, and never had been: but they usually respected each other's preserves. A case in point was Parke's conduct towards the Chesters. Edward Chester was no doubt an immoral scoundrel; but that fact does not excuse Parke for seducing his wife and then persecuting her husband.[1] When later charged with licentiousness he retorted by blackening the characters of Codrington and his friends. Now Codrington was no better than the majority in this respect, yet he at least made careful provision for his illegitimate son.[2]

Indeed lack of self-control in every department of conduct was Parke's great weakness and the direct cause of the maddened fury with which the turbulent planters began to regard him. He was right in endeavouring to stamp out corruption and enforce the laws of trade: but it was folly (to say the least of it) to insult, abuse, and occasionally strike his subjects and to break into their homes with armed guards.

By August 1707 Codrington had had enough. Daily insult and violence had rendered the situation intolerable. Bidding farewell to his many friends, he left his home at 'Betty's Hope' in Antigua for ever, and departed on board the *Deal Castle* for Barbados.[3] It is

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 484 xii, 531, 597 i, &c. Chester was one of the wealthiest planters in the Leeward Islands. Cf. Codrington MSS. A, the Codrington-Miller Ledgers, vol. C. When Parke's private papers were examined after his death it was discovered that he had been conducting liaisons with the wives and daughters of planters all over Antigua (cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1710–11, Nos. 677 i, 683).

[2] See Codrington's Will, Appendix A. Cf. also *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, No. 532.

[3] *Cal. Col.*, 1706–8, No. 1131 (Governor Crowe of Barbados to the Council of Trade, 8 October 1707).

probable that he intended this visit to his plantations in that island to be merely temporary, preparatory to his final return to England and the life that he loved best among books and theatres. But his constitution had never completely recovered from its breakdown after the Guadeloupe compaign. Of late he had been prostrated by the periodic attacks of some fever, which rendered him too weak to undertake the long voyage home. To a scholar's life he did return; but not in England. He was destined to end his days in the tropic heat of the Indies.

Before turning, however, to these last serene years in the southern island, we must conclude the troubled story of his relations with Governor Parke. The latter made no secret of his joy at his enemy's departure, whom he had always accused of being the leading spirit of the opposition.[1] But when the anger and hostility of the planters continued to rise, he asserted that Codrington was directing the attack from Barbados, in order to get himself reinstated as Governor-General in his room.[2]

Goaded by Parke's misdemeanours, it seems highly probable that Codrington's explosive temperament had led him to attack the Governor both in private and at the Antigua Council meetings.[3] But that a semi-invalid, living in scholarly retirement, should wish to reassume the burden of ruling a distracted and half-bankrupt people is equally improbable. At the same time there was a strong party in Antigua and Nevis who worked for the return of their old Governor as the best means of securing a cessation of their woes. Once his restraining hand was removed, they employed methods characteristically factious and misguided. A

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 1383 i (b).

[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 5, 116, 194, &c.

[3] Codrington had been nominated a Councillor for Antigua in Parke's Instructions.

quarrel was provoked on the old question of privileges. The Assembly of Antigua brought in a Bill, by which they claimed to act as a Court of Judicature, and to fine and imprison all who reflected upon their House. They also claimed that the right of veto resided with their Speaker and not with the Crown. When the Governor rejected these pretensions they refused to pay his house rent. According to Parke, the plan was to place him in a dilemma: if he passed the laws, he would incur the Queen's displeasure and be recalled, and if he refused, the purse-strings would be drawn.[1]

Meantime, a more direct method of attack was being pursued by the dispatch of a stream of complaints to Whitehall. The first series, which continued to arrive from Antigua from July 1708 to the following March, were referred by the Crown to the Lords of Trade, who, after consideration, not only found that Parke had cleared himself but commended his zeal for the security of the islands.[2] Many of the accusations were indeed frivolous, and typical of the kind of petty charge which nearly every governor was obliged to face. But they reveal too a deep vindictiveness uncommon in such cases.

The Codrington party, however, were organizing further operations on a larger scale. The sum of £5,000 was subscribed to secure the Governor's recall, while a further budget of complaints was secretly collected. According to Parke they totalled no less than fourscore, and were sent to Codrington, who struck out the more frivolous, reducing them to twenty-two.[3] In their amended form this second collection of complaints was sent home in March 1709 by Mr. Nevine.

Nevis and Antigua were, in fact, aflame with hatred and exasperation. Brawls and riots were the order of

[1] *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 116, 117.
[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 91, 367.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 532.

the day. Already in 1708 the savage planters had tried to shoot the Governor. When the Council of Trade in the following July ordered both parties to furnish each other with a full statement of their cases and then transmit them home, the colonists determined to end the business forthwith. While riding home on the evening of the 5th of September, a negro slave fired at Parke point-blank from behind a hedge. Frightened at the flash, his horse swerved, so that he escaped with a wounded arm.[1]

The planters were foiled, though not for long. Nor did Parke in any way assuage the violence of his own conduct in the face of the storm. His reply was to instigate the men of Colonel Jones's regiment to insult and commit outrages upon those who were laying charges against him, and when the Colonel, whose bitter enmity Parke had incurred, proposed to punish the offenders, he refused to permit their trial.[2]

A detailed examination of the articles finally laid before the Council of Trade, and Parke's answers thereto, is not within the scope of the present narrative. On most of the counts his defence is convincing. Other points he slurs over with scurrilous abuse—with special reference to Codrington.

Yet this defence was to avail him nothing. Before the document left the Leeward Islands, a political crisis took place at home, which indirectly sealed the Governor's fate. The Earl of Sunderland fell at last from power. From the first that statesman had been suspicious of Parke: he had checked his abuse of Codrington, had severely reprimanded him more than once, and had stopped his promotion in the army.

[1] *The History of Colonel Parke's Administration*, by George French, London, 1717, p. 29. Cf. *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 603, 741, 852. For a hostile account see *The Case against Colonel Parke*, London, 1710.

[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, Nos. 324, 329, 516. This conduct evoked a stern reprimand from Sunderland (*ibid.*, No. 169).

Now that his opponent was removed, Parke felt secure, and grew suddenly confident again and truculent. He will teach these planters, most of them factious dissenters, a lesson. As for himself, he is no republican (a hit at Sunderland), but an ardent supporter of Church and State. 'I do rejoyce to hear the Episcopall Church is like to be trumps.'[1]

The effect upon the islanders may well be imagined. Maddened as they had been by his previous conduct, and exasperated at the long delay in England, this new turn of events was the last kick that overturned the cauldron. Soon the whole of Antigua was up in armed rebellion.

The final act of this miserable tragedy opens with a quarrel between Parke and the Assembly as to which of them had the right of appointing the Clerk. Flying into a rage at their obstinacy, the Governor tore up their successive petitions, refused to see them, and then surrounded the Assembly House with an armed guard, finally adjourning them for two days. These events and the continued outrages of the soldiers determined even the moderate element to rise in rebellion. Rumours, too, of the wildest description were firing their already heated imaginations. It was widely believed that Parke was about to betray the Leeward Islands to the French.

Steadily the town of St. John's filled with armed men from all over the island; while Parke responded by filling his house with soldiers and planting five pieces of cannon around it. On the morning of Thursday, the 7th of December (1710), the insurgents assembled. The Speaker of the Assembly and a member of the Council then conveyed an address to the Governor, urging him to discharge his guards and retire to Nevis

[1] Parke to the Earl of Dartmouth (Sunderland's successor), *ibid.*, No. 484.

or St. Kitts for a time. But despite the urgent representations of three successive deputations he firmly refused.

At this the hot rage of the multitude broke loose. 'The Generality of the men then in arms', wrote John Hamans, 'cryed out "March". Nor could [I] hinder them from an immediate march towards the General's house.' Quickly the little garrison was overpowered and shot down. Wounded as he was, Parke was stripped naked, dragged along the road in triumph, and finally left to die in the blazing sun.[1]

Thus ended the long feud in a brutal and inexcusable murder. The moral of the story needs but little pointing. The bearer of good news is not necessarily endowed with the gifts of statesmanship. Just because Parke had had the good fortune to be the first to acquaint the Queen with the victory of Blenheim was no sound reason for his appointment to a Colonial Governorship. We may condemn Parke as a place-hunter who cried out because he could not make his fortune in the Leeward Islands. But the real onus of blame lay with a government which too often regarded the colonies as lucrative dumping-grounds for court favourites. Brave soldier though he was, he was the last man to be set to rule a hot-tempered and lawless community. If within a year a man of Codrington's calibre found the situation intolerable, what must have been the feelings of the average planter who had nowhere else to go?

Indeed Parke's relations with Codrington reveal his whole mentality. He had gone out expecting trouble from his predecessor, and such a frame of mind was not

[1] The above account is based on the following sources: (*a*) Official accounts and depositions of the Council and Assembly of Antigua (*Cal. Col.*, 1710–11, No. 674 i–iv); (*b*) Lieut.-Governor Hamans to the Council of Trade (*ibid.*, No. 838); (*c*) *History of Colonel Parke's Administration* (*ut supra*), pp. 56–64.

long in arousing it. Hatred of Codrington became an obsession, which was daily intensified by the attitude of the planters. When he saw them drinking the health of Peterborough and heard them boasting that that nobleman would speedily effect his recall and the reappointment of his enemy, it is small wonder that he decided that Codrington was conducting a vicious campaign against him.[1] Thenceforward his venom knew no bounds, not even the respect that is due to the dead. When the news of Codrington's death reached Antigua his comment was this. 'Codrington, that Machivall, that was the author and contriver of all this villanny against me, is now answering for it. . . . He lived like a wretch and dyed unlamented, and had not the pleasure to heare of the orders for my comeing home. They say he broke his heart, not being able to gett y^e^ better of me.'[2] It is the language of a mind inflamed with passion and unhinged by trouble.

Thus then Daniel Parke. There have been many governors less efficient than he and less zealous. He died and the Leeward Islands were plunged into anarchy because in the long run a violent ruler breeds and fosters violence among the ruled. As to Codrington's share in the tragedy, he was evidently both haughty and high-handed in resisting the Governor while at Antigua. But he was too big a man to sink to the petty vindictiveness and backstairs intrigue of which

[1] Cf. Parke's letter to the Duke of Marlborough (his patron), 14 November 1708: 'The articles Collonel Codrington's friends have sent home will appear . . . false and scandalous when examined into; they have raised five thousand pounds to be disposed off by one Mr. Nevin in order to get me removed and Codrington in my post, and, if because of Codrington's distemper in the full and change of the moon they cannot gett him in, then they are to endeavour to gett in one Lieut.-Collonell Jones. . . . I hope your Grace will not lett me be removed' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, App., Pt. 2, *Hodgkin MSS.*, p. 345).

[2] Parke to the Council of Trade (11 May 1710), C.O. 152/9, No. 24.

he was accused after his departure to Barbados. Parke judged him by his own standards.

Following Christopher Codrington to Barbados we encounter a serener atmosphere. Far removed from the Antiguan maelstrom, he settled down in the spacious mansion where he had been born and had played as a child. Here in the library and the shady palm-groves of his park he devoted himself to unremitting study and meditation. Friends he had in plenty, who were attracted by his personality no less than by the esteem with which his father, uncle, and grandfather had all been held in former time. But for the most part he led a life of retirement, living in the world of learning and abstract ideas which had fascinated his youth. Too full of the zest of life to remain a scholar for ever he had plunged into the clamour and clash of battle-field and council chamber. Then adversity had come, disillusionment, and disgust. So he was back at his books and theories, probing the old problems with a surer touch taught by contact with reality.

Nothing more delighted his penetrating mind than the subtleties of metaphysical argument—that delightful arena of lightning stroke and counter-stroke where no hurt is done. Amenities of this sort are not usually to be found in a community of practical hard-headed planters. But one kindred spirit at any rate was discovered in the Reverend William Gordon, Rector of St. James's. 'I had the Honour', Gordon relates, 'of enjoying a large share of his Favours, and of being the Happy Companion of his Studies and Retirements for the Two last years of his Life. Of late', he adds, 'he chiefly applied himself to Church History and Metaphysics.'[1]

It is not too fanciful, therefore, to picture these two in the dark brilliance of a tropic night talking for hours

[1] William Gordon, *Sermon*, London, 1710, p. 1.

together, now on the early Fathers, now on a point of philosophy, while the cool wind soughed in the palm trees and the Atlantic boomed and broke to surf on the coral reefs below.

Acquaintance with Codrington rapidly inspired Gordon with feelings of warm friendship and admiration for his companion. 'He had a Great Soul of a fiery Genius', he afterwards wrote, 'happily united to a Body of subtle and flexible composition, in which the Blood and Animal Spirits moved with Vigour and Rapidity, and render'd it rather a Spurr than an Hindrance to the Operations of his mind. He had', Gordon continues, 'a quick and piercing apprehension; a strong, solid, distinguishing Judgement . . . a bold pregnant Wit: a sublime way of Thinking; and methodical persuasive way of Reasoning; and a Voluble distinct Utterance upon the most unexpected Occasions.'[1]

High flown though it is, the description rings true. It was just that vigour and flexibility of mind that urged him into so many departments of thought and activity, marking him out from among his fellows, and incidentally showing us in sharp focus the good and the evil of his age.

Yet Codrington in these latter years was not entirely the recluse that he has been painted. On at least two occasions he intervened in local politics. Barbados, like the Leeward Islands, was suffering from the maladministration of its Governor. Early in 1706 Sir Beville Granville had been recalled, being succeeded by Mitford Crowe, who unfortunately soon proved himself to be little better. During Granville's régime an Act had been passed establishing a paper currency for five years in order to remedy the chronic scarcity of coin. Its operation had been so disastrous, shattering the Barbados credit and benefiting no one but its promoters, that it had been repealed. On his arrival

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

Mitford Crowe had immediately identified himself with the party who had made huge profits by the Paper Act, and had suspended Colonel Sharpe and three other Councillors who were endeavouring to restore order. Rebuked for this action, he readmitted them to the Council. But acts of tyranny and corruption continued to multiply. In August 1708 Sharpe with Beresford and Walker laid before him a detailed protest which should have been forwarded to the Council of Trade.

Crowe, however, waited until the packet had sailed for England and then suspended the three Councillors. The island was in an uproar. The majority violently opposed the Governor's misconduct; while a faction in the Assembly used him as their tool in passing a second Paper Act for their especial benefit. Month by month the struggle continued, public excitement increasing in proportion to the misconduct of the Governor.

After a General Election a new Assembly met together in May 1709, which promptly signalized its defiance of the anti-Paper Act party by voting an address protesting against the recent order for the restoration of the three Councillors. Glad of the excuse Crowe refrained from obeying the order. An act so flagrantly unconstitutional, together with the Assembly's Address, roused the indignant moderates to action.

At this point Codrington intervened. He was persuaded to sign a petition to Crowe, which within forty-eight hours received the signatures of 160 of the leading planters and merchants who happened to be in Bridgetown at the time. Therein it was urged that for a faction in the Assembly to presume to address Her Majesty's Governor to disobey Her royal command, as well as to take upon themselves to declare the sentiments of the people, was a matter of very dangerous consequence.

Next day (12 May) the three Councillors presented themselves at 'Pilgrim', the Governor's house, where the Council was sitting, to know if they would be restored. Soon after they had gone in, Codrington himself appeared, bearing the petition as he had been unanimously desired to do. 'Upon which', the three Councillors afterwards reported, 'His Excellency after having read it, broke out into a violent passion, and turning himself to us, abus'd us in such scurrilous Billingsgate language as would be offensive to your Lordships' ears to hear, such as no Gentleman would have given even to a ffootman.'[1] Crowe then betook himself to the Council chamber, ordering the doors to be shut. Nor would he suffer the three to be admitted, though they waited outside for several hours.

Codrington was not the man to be put off by bluster of this kind. During the next few days another similar petition was circulated through the island and signed by 590 prominent inhabitants. The covering letter which Codrington sent to Crowe along with the document is worth quoting *in extenso* not only because it is the last statement of his now extant, but on account of the light which it throws on his character. Dignified yet incisive, firm without being violent, it is the letter of a man who has reached balanced maturity.

'I have been earnestly requested by many worthy Gentlemen to deliver y^{or} Excellency this paper: my hand and heart goe along with it. We aim at nothing more than y^{t} y^{e} dignity of Government may be preserved, and Her Ma^{tys} sacred authority supported against all attempts whatsoever. Y^{or} Excellency cannot but remember what y^{e} Queen's answer was to an Address of Peeres concerning y^{e} Lord Almoner. And shall an Assembly of Barbados planters pretend to tell Her Ma^{ty} whom she shall or shall not employ in Her Service? 'Tis well known, Sir, I have no unkindness for some of y^{e} Gentlemen who have

[1] Sharpe, Walker, and Beresford to the Council of Trade (14 May 1709), *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, No. 502.

unadvisedly consented to so bad an Address. But when they so far forget themselves as to become undutyfull to Her Ma^ty, I think myselfe oblig'd in Honour and Prudence to express my just resentments, w^th other good subjects, y^t we may not all be involved in their guilt, nor share in the ill consequences of their folly.'[1]

Meantime, Codrington's intervention had been invoked in another matter. A further source of friction had arisen by the appointment of Maxwell, a leader of this Assembly faction, to the vacant Colonelcy of the regiment over the heads of senior officers, who had thrown up their commissions in disgust. So violent was the dissension on this point that one Colonel Carter was in danger of his life from Maxwell and his friends.

On the 4th of September 1708 Codrington sent a letter to Judge Downes, 'written', we are told, 'at the desire of 4 or 5 Gentlemen who are willing to preserve the rights of their constitution as long as they can'. Therein he pointed out that public business was becoming increasingly impeded by private quarrels, which Downes had not sufficiently exerted his authority to suppress. If Carter was going to be attacked, at least let there be fair play in the form of a properly conducted duel.[2] Yet Codrington was no partisan in the affair. He was neither for the Governor's faction nor the others, but for moderation and the preservation of ordered government. He had urged that Carter should be adequately protected from Maxwell's violence; but when Crowe some months later asked for his opinion of Maxwell, he replied that although the gentleman's promotion had been contrary to all the rules of military discipline, he believed that since his appointment he had been very jealous to deserve the

[1] Codrington to Crowe, C.O. 28/12, No. 32 lx.
[2] *Cal. Col.*, 1708–9, No. 180 iv (m).

honour.[1] In fact Codrington's impartiality was a valuable moderating influence in this troubled time.

There is but one more public act to record. In March 1710 the Assembly proceeded to the election of Judge Downes as Treasurer. Recent corruption in the affair of the Paper Act rendered it particularly important that the new officer should be above suspicion. Four of the most responsible planters were accordingly asked to stand as sureties of whom Codrington was the first. The respect in which the latter was held was then further attested by the action of the Council, who, when informed of the names of the four guarantors, 'acknowledged that there could be none better'.[2]

Political intervention, however, was an occasional and exceptional event in a life of peaceful retirement. The dust and heat of the political arena held little attractions for any ex-Governor of the Leeward Islands, and still less for one who had found time in the bustle of military preparations to discuss such subjects as the work of John Locke.[3]

Not only a love of philosophy but also a wistful yearning for a quiet life at home had possessed him in those stressful years. 'If I live to see England', he had written, 'I will pas my life in my Library and be buryed in my garden. This gives me a pretence to lay hold of the offer you were pleased to make me, and to beg you will please to let one of your under-gardiners plant me some fruit-trees and vines at Doddington.'[4] The gardens and the pleasant park of Dodington, the hamlets of Codrington and Tormarton, were never to

1 *Ibid.*, No. 583 lv (a letter written by Codrington, 1 June 1709).

2 *Ibid.*, 1710–11, No. 264 iv. Shortly afterwards, however, the Council vetoed the election, proposing a nominee of their own—thus precipitating a long and bitter quarrel between the two Houses.

3 Codrington to Popple (23 January 1703), C.O. 152/5, No. 16.

4 Codrington to (?) Popple (30 November 1702), C.O. 239/1, No. 3.

see him again. But the goal was reached. English oaks had been exchanged for palm trees and Bridgetown for the city of Bath. But the world of books is the same whether it be the Indies or in England.

Study for him was not the dilettante pursuit of a pastime but a stern process of mental travail. Like Ralegh of old, he could never do less than 'toil terribly' at whatever he had in hand. In consequence, everything that he had done had been worth while. As a youthful scholar he had won the admiration of Oxford; as a wit and a lover of letters he had made his mark in Town; on the battle-field he had gained the confidence and regard of his Sovereign; and most difficult of all, perhaps, he had secured the support of a turbulent West Indian community in carrying out a series of far-reaching administrative reforms. Lastly, when death cut short his labours, he was fast building up on the old foundations a structure of solid scholarship. 'In a word', wrote his companion, 'He had in this West India Retirement made so Wonderful a Progress in his Studies, that had Providence spared him to have returned to his Beloved University, he would have been as much the object of their admiration, as He deserved to be the Object of their Delight.'[1]

Yet again like Ralegh, this very versatility had been his bane. Just because he could do so many things so well, his abounding vigour diffused itself. He attempted too much. As a scholar, a soldier, or a statesman, he could have won high distinction. But to attempt all three was too much for one short life. Too much, that is to say, if one has an eye to the immortal garland. Diffusion of energy results in a smaller contribution to posterity: it also broadens and deepens the outlook, which is in itself a contribution.

On Good Friday, the 7th of April 1710, Christopher

[1] Gordon, *Sermon* (*ut supra*).

Codrington died in the forty-second year of his age.[1] Ever since his illness after the Guadeloupe campaign he had suffered from periodic attacks of fever. From what we can gather this last illness was violent though comparatively short. He was buried next day in St. Michael's Church in Bridgetown, when his fellow student, the Rev. William Gordon, preached the funeral sermon. Six years later he was re-interred with academical solemnity in the beautiful Chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, 'whose name', we are told, 'he frequently mention'd with peculiar Esteem and Veneration'; there to sleep in the company of many another distinguished Fellow.[2] In deference to his own desire, a plain marble slab with the one word *Codrington* marks his grave. At this second interment the Public Orator to the University, Digby Cotes, and the poet Edward Young, delivered Latin orations, eulogizing their benefactor in terms which, extravagant as they are, none the less attest the affection and esteem in which he was held at Oxford.[3] Codrington died just at the opening of full maturity. In a short life of forty-two years he had already won distinction. At an age when few eminent men have begun their career, he had done much and left behind him in England a general impression that there were few lines of life in which he might not have reached the highest eminence.

The will of a founder or benefactor may indicate much or very little of his character. A death-bed repentance and a hasty assignation of large sums to worthy objects reflect but little glory on the donor.

[1] An inscription in the Principal's Lodge, Codrington College, Barbados, reads as follows: 'Christopher Codrington died in this his mansion, Good Friday, April 7, 1710, aged 42 years' (*Codrington College Magazine*, Trinity Term, 1925, p. 6).

[2] Cf. Hearne's MS. Diary (Bodleian), vol. 58, p. 200: 'Colonel Codrington's body was brought to Town last night to be buried in All Souls College Chapell' (Thursday, 21 June 1716).

[3] *Orations of Digby Cotes and Edward Young*, Oxford, 1716.

On the other hand, when such a will is in harmony with the previous career, it is of peculiar interest. Codrington's last will and testament reveals what was after all the innermost kernel of the man: the part that remains when the shutters of the coffee-house are up, the footlights out, and battles done.

To All Souls College, Oxford, he bequeathed £10,000, six thousand to be spent in the building of a library, and the remainder in the purchase of books to furnish it. Added to this he gave his own fine collection of ancient volumes which had been carefully collected from all over Europe.[1] The stately 'Codrington Library' which resulted has served a continuous succession of Oxford scholars. As Burrows remarks, 'Codrington's benefaction placed All Souls in the next rank after the Bodleian'.[2] The building of the new library, which was begun in 1716, when Edward Young delivered an oration at the laying of the first stone, was superintended by Tanner, Clarke, and Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, three of the most eminent scholars of the day. The death of these men and other circumstances combined to bring about a cessation of the work for some years, so that the fabric did not reach completion until 1756. Fortunately the important task of arranging the library fell to the lot of Blackstone, a man pre-eminently fitted for the business. His vast store of learning, together with a capacity for accurate and detailed labour, was not only responsible for a highly efficient organization of the library, but also for placing it on a sound financial basis. Codrington's bequest of £10,000 was increased by careful husbandry to £12,000, and an endowment formed out of the surplus of the building fund for future purchases.[3] In

[1] See Will, printed in full, App. A. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

[3] About 1870 a large Reading Room and Law Library were built, with a full-time Sub-Librarian in attendance, so that the rich resources of the Library are now available to the whole University.

the centre of the Library stands a statue of Codrington, carved by Sir Henry Cheere, the chief sculptor of the day and an old acquaintance of the benefactor.[1] So much indicates a lifelong love of learning and a deep affection for the community which had taught him a right standard of values.

His other great bequest indicates much more. His constant interest in the welfare of negro slaves[2] led him to formulate a scheme (the forerunner of many others all over the world), by which to extend to the West Indies the advantages of religious and useful learning through the foundation of a college for the training of medical missionaries. Far ahead of his own age in conceptions such as this, he was at the same time deeply imbued with the ideas of the past. His college must be on a monastic basis. By that means alone could the pioneers within its walls be adequately trained for their difficult task. His two plantations in Barbados and the greater part of the island of Barbuda (worth over £100,000 in modern money) were to constitute the endowment.

'And my desier is to have the Plantations Continued Intire and three hundred negros at Least Kept always thereon, and A Convenient number of Professors and Scholars Maintained there, all of them to be under the vows of Poverty Chastity and obedience, who shall be oblidged to Studdy and Practice Physick and Chyrurgery as well as divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may Both indear themselves to the People and have the better oppertunitys of doeing good To mens Souls whilst they are Takeing Care of their Bodys.'

His conviction that real missionary work among the negroes could only be carried out by 'regular' clergy bound by monastic vows, 'Apostolical men who are

[1] Sir Henry Cheere had been associated with Codrington in writing the *Commendatory Verses* against Sir Richard Blackmore.

[2] See pp. 122–4, above.

willing to take much pains for little reward', was no new one. While still in London in 1699 he had (as already noted) proposed a similar scheme to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. According to his friend Gordon this idea was further developed while Codrington was residing at St. Kitts. 'The design of the bequest', the former wrote, 'was the maintenance of monks and missionaries, to be employed in the conversion of negroes and Indians; which design he took from the conversation of a learned Jesuit of St. Christopher's, between whom and him there passed several letters upon the antiquity, usefulness and excellence of a monastic life.' 'Of the missionaries', he adds, 'he proposed that there should be constantly kept abroad three Visitors, who would be obliged to travel from colony to colony and from country to country, to transmit to the Society a large historical account of the state of Christianity in such country, of the genius of the people, and what means were most probable to advance religion and piety. But these, with a great many other directions, I shall forbear enlarging upon as being superfluous.'[1]

The scheme was attractive. The beneficed clergy in the West Indies were notoriously unfit for the task. Missionaries sent out from England might be self-seekers, and certainly foreign to their new environment. The work of purifying the brutality and degradation existing in the islands would best be accomplished by a band of devoted men, actually trained on a negro plantation, living a communal life, and equipped with a knowledge of medicine. It was the idea of a large-

[1] The Rev. Wm. Gordon to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 25 July 1710 (S.P.G. Archives, quoted by Burrows, *ut supra*, pp. 342–3). Burrows's suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 338) that Codrington decided to entrust the execution of his plan to the S.P.G. during a visit to England in 1702 is erroneous. As already indicated he did not secure the furlough which he so often demanded at that time.

hearted Oxford school-man brought face to face with the colour problem. Naturally he did not contemplate emancipation. But the conception was far in advance of contemporary thought. Moreover, it was characteristic of the man that he should have made these plans at a time when every ounce of his energy was being called forth to steady a panic-stricken community and to prepare for the great attack on Guadeloupe.

The idea, however, of a monastic foundation was promptly scotched by the Society.[1] Their difficulties in executing the bequest were already enormous without this additional impediment with which the authorities had no sympathy. Although (as Burrows points out)[2] there is no mention of the fact in any account of the Society's proceedings, the clause seems to have been quietly deleted by Archbishop Tenison and nothing said.

Gradually the remainder of his scheme was put into operation, until to-day Codrington College in Barbados is a worthy and living testimony to the imagination and greatness of mind of its founder.[3] He paved the way towards a saner and a nobler relationship between the white man and his coloured fellow.

Swift and ardent as he was in body and in spirit, Codrington had many virtues and many faults. Life was tasted to the uttermost, including the dregs. The

[1] In a letter dated 21 July 1710 Codrington's friend, Bishop Tanner, wrote as follows: 'I have seen the clause in his Will relating to the Propagation of the Gospel, where his ordering all his Professors and Scholars to be under vows of poverty, chastity and obedience is very monastic' (Ballard MSS., Bodleian). According to Gordon (*ut supra*) Colonel (afterwards Sir) Wm. Codrington, the heir, contested the legality of the bequest on the ground that the monastic provision was popish.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 338–44.

[3] See note to Chapter VIII, below. At the present time the College is working under grave difficulties owing to a disastrous fire which destroyed the buildings in April 1926.

same unresting vigour that sent him probing into questions of philosophy found other outlets by the senses. This combination of flaming ardour and outstanding ability engendered a haughty self-assurance which tended to trample on all who dared oppose. Certain of the honesty of his sweeping intentions, he too often failed to explain himself in order to conciliate possible opponents. The zeal of his own abounding energy swept him along: he expected it automatically to sweep others also. When they refused to follow and replied with misunderstanding and paltry misinterpretation, he descended to their level, struck back with passionate resentment, and then retired to grieve in bitterness of heart. His complex character was, indeed, a curious admixture of the artist, the religious enthusiast, and the practical man of affairs. At one time he was absorbed in abstract speculation; at another he would throw aside his books to become the ardent lover and the delight of Drury Lane. Then again a further side would gain the ascendancy, and he is found at the head of a regiment or an army amid the screaming thunder of artillery or toiling at a great scheme of social betterment. So swift a temperament was up to the stars and down to earth again before the average man had comprehended either movement. And yet, all these diverse doings were but the outcome of one central impulse—an insatiable desire to explore, to understand, and having understood to build.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII

CODRINGTON COLLEGE

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel encountered many difficulties in administering the Codrington Trust. Protracted negotiations for the transfer of the two Barbadian plantations between Christopher's heir, Colonel William Codrington, and the Society's agent, Dudley Woodbridge, were on the point of coming to a successful termination in 1711, when Governor Robert Lowther intervened by issuing a writ against the former of *ne exeat insula*. 'At w^{ch} usage he seems soe Exasperated', Woodbridge reported, 'that he Cares not if the Estates are ruin'd. There's a tedious Law Suit Began: God knows who may live to see an end of it.'[1] Deadlock then ensued, William Codrington, after some hesitation, supplying the plantations with food and other necessaries, 'just to Keep things together.'[2]

Even then, it seems, a settlement would have been quickly reached but for Lowther's persistent interference.[3] When the Society in 1712 at last obtained possession, he still asserted his right of control. As late as 1719 the Society was compelled to complain to the Privy Council against him for requiring their attorneys to submit all account books and papers relating to the management of the estate for public auditing.[4]

Meantime in 1714 the building of the College was begun with the active support of Queen Anne, who had been approached by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of

[1] Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian) D. 839, ff. 102–3 (Papers of Henry Newman, Secretary to the S.P.G.), Woodbridge to Newman (23 August 1711).

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 58, Woodbridge to Newman (18 September 1711).

[3] Cf. further correspondence of Woodbridge, *ibid.*, f. 164 (19 September 1711); f. 58 (6 October); f. 168 (24 October). The actual conveyance of the property did not take place until 1742.

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), vol. ii, No. 1307. Previously, in 1712, the Society and William Codrington had presented a joint petition to the Treasury (who referred it to the Council for Trade), asking for a renewal of the Barbuda lease for a long term of years. Otherwise, they stated, the expense of developing that island would not be worth their while (*Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1708–15*, p. 388).

London. Through the Earl of Orford and the Admiralty Board instructions were given, after her death, that the men-of-war on the station should employ their spare time in transporting timber for the building of the College from Tobago and other neighbouring islands. Owing to lack of funds caused by hurricanes damaging the sugar crops, the building was not finally completed until twenty years later.

How far ahead of his time Christopher Codrington had been in his ideas is shown by the long process of development that was found necessary before his full scheme could be put into operation. On the 9th of September 1745 a Grammar School for boys was opened as the precursor of the training of young men. For the next eighty-five years the school did good work, though constantly hampered by lack of funds. The Hanoverian age was not remarkable for missionary zeal.

At last in 1830 the energy of Bishop Coleridge brought about the fruition of the Founder's scheme. Alongside the school a Training College was established for the education of young men, particularly with a view to their training for Holy Orders. Its first Principal was the Rev. John Hothersal Pinder; and in the first year twenty-one students entered, drawn from every part of the British West Indies. Largely owing to Pinder and his successor Rawle rapid progress was made. Finally in 1875 Codrington College was affiliated to the University of Durham, thus enabling students in the West Indies to compete for the degrees of an English University. Unfortunately the College was visited by disaster in April 1926 when the buildings were destroyed by fire.

From 1830 to the present time over four hundred students have been educated at Codrington. 'The College', we are told, 'has given to the West Indies not only Bishops, Archdeacons, and the bulk of the clergy, but Chief Justices, Barristers, Physicians, Merchants, Planters, and men of leading position in every Colony of the Caribbean Seas. Moreover, it is the proud distinction of Codrington that no difference of race, or colour, or Christian denomination has ever interfered with the perfect amity and equality of all who have the privilege of calling her their *alma mater*.'[1]

[1] *Handbook of Codrington College, Barbados*, Bristol, 1912. See also Burrows (*op. cit.*), App. I.

APPENDIX A

CODRINGTON'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT[1]

In the name of God Amen. The Twenty Second day of February in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the Faith &c. Anno domini 1702. I Christ° Codrington of dothington in the County of Gloster Esq[r] and Chief Governour of her Majesties Leeward Islands in America do make and declare this to be my Last Will and Testament. I recommend my Soul to God who made me, hopeing for Salvation thro' his mercy and the Merritts of his Sonn.—My worldly Estate I thus dispose of—

Item. I give my nearest Kinsman Leiut Coll° William Codrington all my Estate in and about Dothington aforesaid, provided and upon Condition that he pay to All Souls Colledge in Oxford, Tenn Thousand pounds Sterll in manner following, viz[t]. two thousand pounds in one year after my decease and the Sum of two thousand pounds yearly afterwards, untill the Sum of Tenn thousand pounds be payd. I doe appoint that six thousand pounds thereof be Expended in Building of a Library for the use of the said Colledge and that the remaining four thousand pounds be Laid out in Books to furnish the Same—

Item. I give and bequeath unto the said Colledge my Library now in the Custody of Mr. John Caswell in Oxford.[2]

Item. My Will is that all my Sugars w[ch] either are or shall be made in my several Plantations in Barbados, Antigua or St. Christophers dureing the present Cropp shall be sent home to England, consigned to M[r] Richard Carey,[3] merchant in London, to be sold by him and remain as assetts in his hands for the use hereafter mentioned.

[1] Bishop Compton's manuscript copy, Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian) C. 983, ff. 157–8 (Letters to Compton, Bishop of London, 1676–1710).

[2] John Caswell had evidently been one of Codrington's friends at Oxford. Born in 1655, he became a servitor at Wadham College, where he 'taught the grounds of mathematics to young scholars, and afterwards settling himself in Hart Hall, carried on his faculty with great industry'. In 1689 he published *A brief, but full, Account of the Doctrine of Trigonometry both plain and spherical.* From 1709 until 1712 he was Professor of Astronomy in the University. *Collectanea*, i (Oxford Hist. Soc.), part vi, p. 335.

[3] One of Codrington's agents (cf. Ballard MSS. 20, f. 57).

Item. I give and Bequeath to my Cousin Leiut Coll° W^m^ Codrington my plantation at Betty's Island in Antigua, Burthened with five hundred pounds Sterll which I give and Bequeath unto my Cousin M^rs^ Rachel Courthope.[1]—

Item. I give and Bequeath unto my said Kinsman whatsoever Estate I shall dye Posses't of in the Island of St. Christophers, as also half my Island of Barbuda.—

Item. I give and Bequeath my Plantation being in the Parish of St. Johns in Antigua w^th^ y^e^ negroes and all things thereto Belonging to Coll° Mich^a^ Lambert of the Island of St. Christophers and W^m^ Harman of the Island of Antigua Gent. and their heirs for ever, provided and upon Condition that they give five hundred pounds Sterrll unto William the Son of Maudlin Morange when he shall Arrive at the age of one and Twenty years, and that they in the mean Time allow him Fourty pounds Sterrl p annum for his Education, and it's my Desier he should be Bred up in the Sea Service.

Item. I give and Bequeath my two Plantations in the Island of Barbados to the Society for propagation of the Christian Religion in Forreighn parts, Erected and Established by my Late good master, King William the Third, and my desier is to have the Plantations Continued Intire and three hundred negros at Least Kept always thereon, and A Convenient number of Professors and Scholars Maintained there, *all of them to be under the vows of Poverty Chastity and obedience*,[2] who shall be oblidged to Studdy and Practice Physick and Chyrurgery as well as divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may Both indear themselves to the People and have the better oppertunitys of doeing good To mens Souls whilst they are Takeing Care of their Bodys. But the Particulars of the Constitution I Leave to the Society Compos'd of good and wise men.—

Item. I give and Bequeath to my ffriends Coll° Mich^a^ Lambert and Wm. Harman one Eight'ts part of my Island of Barbuda, the remaineing part of my Estate in the said Island I give to the aforesaid Society for the Propagation of Christian religion.

Item. I give and Bequeath to my Freind Vavasoure Cage and to his heirs for ever, my two Parcells of Land Lying in

[1] See p. 75, above.

[2] This clause was afterwards erased by the Society (see p. 213, above).

Nonsuch division, the one Consisting of Eighty acres and the other of one hundred and Twenty acres, and I desier my Cousin Leiu^t^ Coll^o^ William Codrington will be assisting to him in Clearing thereof, and Build him a house thereon.

Item. I give to my said Freind Vavasoure Cage my Storehouse in the Town of Parham in the Island of Antigua.

Item. I give and Bequeath unto my Honour^a^ Freind Charles Boyl Esq^r^ ffifteen hundred pounds which I have in the million Lottery.[1]—

Item. I give and Bequeath To my ffreinds the Rt. Honour^a^ the Earl of Peterborough, y^e^ honour^a^ the Lord Mord^nt^, William Blackwell Esq^r^, James Kendall Esq^r^, Archibald Hutchinson Esq^r^,[2] Samuel Codrington (of whome I Purchased my estate at Dothington), John Caswell of Oxford, Mr. Richard Codrington, Minister of Dothington, S^t^ John Brodrick of the Temple Esq^r^, the reverend Doct^r^ Geo Smalridge, the reverend Doct^r^ Gastrel Preacher of Lincoln's Inn London, W^m^ Estrick of the Temple Esq^r^, doctor Robert Morgan of Christ Chh^o^ In Oxford, John Yeamans Esq^r^ Governor of Antigua and Doctor Nathaniel Loyde of Doctors Commons, one hundred Guineas each.

Item. I give and Bequeath to my verry good friend Mr. Alexander Cunningham, one hundred Guineas, Besides what I've already given him by a deed of gift, the Due and Constant payment whereof I recomend most Earnestly and Particularly to my Cousin Leiu^t^ Coll^o^ W^m^ Codrington, not only for the great respect and freindship I have for that worthy Gent but by reason the Annuity provided by the said Deed of Gift will be an assistance to him in the great and usefull Labours in w^ch^ he Imploys himselfe for y^e^ publick Benefit.[3]

Item. I desier appoint and Impower my freinds Archibald Hutchinson Esq^r^, M^r^ Richard Carey and M^r^ Richard Bates to be my Executors for payment of my Legacy's out of the money which I now have in England and which shall be raised out of the Cropp w^ch^ I have Directed to be sent home, which Legacys

[1] Charles Boyle succeeded his brother as Earl of Orrery in 1703.

[2] Codrington's agent.

[3] Cunningham shared Codrington's enthusiasm for book-collecting and learning in general. 'I shall proceed in my collection and . . . I hope to make it as curious as any private one in Europe. . . . Mr. Cunningham is going into France, and from thence into Italy, and will miss nothing that is curious' (Codrington to Dr. Charlett, 25 June 1702, Ballard MSS. 20, f. 58).

being payd, I doe appoint my Cousin Leiut Coll° William Codrington to be my sole Executor. I doe hereby revoke all other wills by me made reserueing to my selfe a power to dispose of such other Legacys as I shall think fit by a Codicel.

Item. I desier that the Body of my dear Father may be Carryd to England and buryed in Westminster Abby. Besides the Seaven hundred and fifty pounds given by the Islanders of St. Christophers and Antigua for that use, I doe appoint and Direct that five hundred pounds Sterrl more be payd by my Executors Towards the Erecting of a Monument for him, ye care of which I Earnestly recommend to my good ffreinds Richard Bates, James Kendall, and Archibald Hutchinson Esqrs.[1]

Item. I desier that my Body may be Interr'd in All Souls Chappel in Oxford and a plain Black Marble of twenty pounds price Laid thereon. Dated at Betty's hope in the Island of Antegua the day and year above written.

Chr. Codrington.

Signed Sealed Published and Delivered
in the presence of—

John Yeamans.
John Hamilton.
Henry Pealme.
James Thynne.
Edward Parm.

Memorandum: That on ye Twenty third day of May, one thousand seaven hundred and Tenn, personally Came and Appeared before me the Honoura John Yeamans, Esqr, Leiut. Governor of the said Island and the Honoura John Hamilton one of the Counsill of the said Island, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that they were Present and did see the wthin mentioned Christopher Codrington Esqr Signe Seal and Publish the within Instrument of writeing as his Last Will and Testament, he being then in Perfect and Sound Memory and Sence.

Danl Parke.

[1] This provision was never executed.

APPENDIX B

LITERARY REMAINS AND REFERENCES

§ i. *Codrington's Ode on the birth of the Pretender* (1688)[1]

In Natalem Sereniss: Principis Walliae

I

Goddess, to urge Me or forbear
Or make my Song thy favorite Care
No languid Heats I'le now receive;
Thou must the noblest inspiration give.
With feeble Airs and with unequal lays
I'll not the mighty Theam debase.
Feeble Ayrs unheard will dye
Droun'd and undistinguished in the general Harmony.
First strike Our Souls and mark the Tone,
Then all thy strongest Wires put on;
Our Souls are tun'd to mighty Joy,
Thy Sounds, thy Muse must rise as high,
Thy sounds must bear a part in the great Symphony.

II

Heard ye the merry Melodious shout,
Twas wondrous loud, yet pleasant too,
(James's Coronation shouts were so)
Some ayry Nuncius sure has been sent out
And solemnly proclaim'd the ravishing News
In the lowd brass which Herald-Angels use.
Britain with one conspiring tongue
(And why should many tongues convey
The sense of souls which every where agree?)
Pours out one universal Song.
The Vigorous Musick widely flows,
The Vigorous Musick gathers as it goes,
For Heaven itself doth sympathize,
And to the Gladsom Noise triumphantly reply's.

[1] *Strenae Natalitiae Academiae Oxoniensis in Celsissimum Principem.* Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano, An. Dom. MDCLXXXVIII.

The British Rocks next catch the sound
Which to the Neighbouring Seas from thence does bound;
The Sea's informed crowd to the Shore
And fain they would some Tribute pay
To the young God they one time must obey,
But Rocks forbid, they murmuring retire and roar.

III

I'm Heard, the Goddess owns my Choice,
And with unwonted fury fills my Brest,
The Goddess is her self possest;
Lowdly she bids me lift my Voice,
And to the listning Earth
Proclaim the Tidings of the Illustrious Birth.
Young Heroes are the Muses Care
(Heroes and Poets equally are dear)
Ev'n from the Womb the Heaven-Born Boy they take
And early Covenants of Glory make.
With artful hands they mould the yielding clay,
And all the Dross of Nature purge away;
From Baseness and dishonest Cares
From sordid Hopes and foolish fears,
They guard the promising Infant, and improve
The tender Seeds of Courage and of Love.

IV

The Goddess has Assistant been
To many a teeming Heroine,
She Castor's Navel cut, and Perseus Head
With her own hands she fashioned.
From Thunder-blasted Dame
She tore the half-burnt Son;
Fil'd him early love of Fame,
And to the *Indian* Conquests urg'd him on.
These Heroes might the Nine divide
But the whole train with decent state
On Fair *Maria's* Throws did wait,
And stir'd not from the Royal Matron's labouring side,
By gentle tales they did lost ease convey;

They told her what the boy should be,
How lov'd on Land how fam'd on Sea,
By lulling Ayrs, and Powerful Strains
They charm'd the Evil spirit of Pains,
And wip'd the Big round drops of Balmy sweat away.

V

With Forward Zeal the Eldest Grace,
The Heaven-born offspring first did bless,
And wish'd the Monarch and the Nation Joy;
The Muses next with Jealous Love
Snatch'd away the smiling Boy,
Resolv'd the workmanship to prove
With Care impartial and with piercing Eyes,
With Observation more than nice
They view his Body and his Face,
And every Line and every Feature trace.
The Stirling Meddal bore the Test
And its Divine Original confest.
The God of Heat with Violent Rays,
Deep, wondrous deep prepared the Mass,
James did the Golden Mine explore
And struck his image on the shining Ore.

VI

Begin young *James* begin thy Glorious Race,
Great is the Prize and long must be the Chase;
Attend not thou performing Manhoods state,
Nor lagging days and hours inglorious wait.
Find Love! 'tis vain to urge him on,
Young *James* already has begun,
Earlier than *Alcides* He and Nobler Acts has done.
Ev'n in the Womb a dreadful War
Our Heroe managed from afar;
By unseen influence strong darts he threw,
And Factions many Headed Hydra slew,
When the glad Tydings first went out
And Pious Holocausts declar'd
The mighty thing that Heavn and *James* had wrought.

Ere the warm God with amorous light
The Infants lovely Eyes had Kist,
The Serpents too the Tydings heard,
They Heard and straightway were accurst.
With all their venomous tongues they hist,
They flung, they grin'd, they rag'd for spight,
In vain they rag'd, they spouted Fire in vain,
The Poison they receive again,
And with Black Blood and Envy swel'd, in thousand pieces burst.

VII

Once more, my Goddess, hear thy Priest,
Indulge Me, O Indulge this last Request,
The mightiest Boon thou hast in store
I ask, but grant, and I will ask no more.
O let me enter to the inmost Room
The darkn'd Retirement of *Apollo's* Dome,
The Sacred Mirror there expose
The wondrous Magick Glass;
Which from its bright reflective face
Fates inmost secrets shows,
And great Futurities already come to pass;
There I would view (when *James* shall late repair
In the first Orbs to shine a Star,
And guide with Guardian Rays his People from afar)
There I would view his Godlike Son
With Shouts ascend his Fathers Throne,
And Chear with mighty hopes the mighty *Albion*;
Next, Goddess, I would see him reign
Crown'd and uncontroul'd the Monarch of the Main.
While humbled Belgians sue for Peace
And the far East and West the British Power confess;
Let him next on land appear
Bold and yet cautious, open and yet wise,
Generous yet frugal, good without disguise;
With Justice mild and piously severe.
Shew me Goddess, shew Me This
And let thine Oracles to Morrow cease

VIII

Alas! The Muse the well-meant Prayer denies,
She struts, frowns and thus replys,
With Curious folly and with Zeal profane
The Uneasy *Britains* still would pry
Into the depths of late Futurity
Whilst Heaven showrs present blessings down in vain.
What Times shall come and what the fates will do
Concerns not thee, O Man, to know;
To Day is thine, O seize the Useful Now.
But nothing happy Men can Please
Wanton and lawless grown with Luxury and Ease.
Whilst other Realms by Tyranny opprest
Have War and Famine for a constant Guest,
Whilst Rage and Rapine mock the labourers toil,
And wretched Exiles quit their Native Soil,
On this happy Favourite Isle
Heaven seems with all its Eyes to smile;
Justice here and plenty flows,
And Peace the Halcyon land has chose.
What, *Britains*, what can more be sent?
What would your boundless Avarice content?
Bounteous Heaven has done its best,
Sit down and be by present Fortune blest,
And to the Gods and Caesar leave the rest.

Christ. Codrington.
Christ-Church.

§ ii. *Creech's Dedication of his Edition of Lucretius* (1694)[1]

Christophoro Codrington Collegii Omnium Animarum Socio Thomas Creech Ejusdem Collegii Socius. S.P.D.

Quali otio iam utor, occupato, requiris, an inerti et remisso; Inquirenti qui respondeat, Libellum accipe, non multis quidem vigiliis, et acri studiorum intentione, aliqua tamen diligentia elaboratum: neque enim ad *Te* Elegantissimi ingenii Virum

[1] *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura Libri Sex: Quibus interpretationem et notas Addidit.* Thomas Creech Coll. Om. An. Socius. Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano. . . . Imprimatur, Henr. Aldrich Vice-Can. Oxon. Sept. 3, 1694.

mitti aliquod debet, quod impolitum nimis foret et rude Lepore, Vi et Acumine omni destitutum. Quanquam quid diligenter factum videatur *Tibi*, Qui in Critica, et Philosophia, quantum per aetatem tuam Homini licet, in Poetica supra Annos vales, nisi utaris ea moderatione Animi, qua tuas Dotes aestimare, et illa benignitate, qua meas nugas esse aliquid putare soles?

. . . . . .

Sed cum *Epicuri* sectatores non tam sua quam Magistri infamia laborant, Laud integra erit Poetae nostri dignitas, nisi Illius etiam Honos vindicetur: Nam male moratus Scholae Philosophicae Princeps, ut Fons lutulentus canalem suum, obducit quasi limo et conspurcat Discipulos. Quid autem Epicurum laudarem apud *Te*, qui Moribus Vitaeque instituto es ab illo, quem Vulgus sibi fingit quam maxime alienum? In Deum, Patriamque Pius, Amicis fidus, Modestus, Temperans, Literarum studiosissimus, in Notos Benignus, Ignotis omnibus Benevolus, et omnibus vicissim Charus, despicias oderisque necesse est Impium, Infidum, Immodestum, Intemperantem, rudem Disciplinarum contemtorem, Universis Invidentem et Universis pariter Invisum. Attamen Hoc *Tibi* jucundum fore existimo, Qui justus aequusque rerum Arbiter suum Unicuique tribui, neque quenquam Innocentem calumniis opprimi et obtundi velis.

. . . . . .

Haec breviter, quae tamen satis demonstrant non Solum *Epicurum* Magistros suos indigne cavillari, aliquando su suis deducam, cum *Tecum* de Rerum Natura disserere licuerit.

Id vero fatale videtur Poëtae nostro, ut, Qui scripserit in incerto Reipublicae statu, ejus scripta in turbido explicentur: Ille *Memmium*.

Quem Tu, Dea, tempore in omni
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

Ego omni Virtutum genere parem desidero: *Te* enim Musis dicatum rapuerunt Castra, sacrilege dicerem, nisi Eos postularet communis Salus, qui liberalibus disciplinis instructi Artem opponant Dolis, Fraudesque Virtute et constantia eludant. Macte igitur Virtute tua, Sed Illi ne nimium confidas, ut nihil recusabis ob formidinem, ita nihil appetas ob jactationem,

simulque anxius agas et intentus. Non enim Solus pugnas,—sed Armis *Te* pollicitum alia, si non meliora, trado, ea tamen conditione, ut Victorias *Principis* Victrici Stylo persequaris. Vale.

Prid. Kal. Sept.

An. 1694.

§ iii. *Addison in Praise of Codrington* (1697)[1]

Te tamen e mediis, Ductor fortissime,[2] turmis
Exere: Tu vitam (si quid mea carmina possunt)
Accipies, populique encomia sera futuri:
Quem varias edoctum artes studiisque Minervae
Omnibus ornatum, Marti Rhedicyna furenti
Credidit invita, et tanto se jactat alumno.
Hunc nempe ardorem atque immensos pectoris aestus
Non jubar Arctoum, aut nostri penuria coeli,
Sed plaga torridior, qua sol intentius omnes
Effundit radios, totique obnoxia Phoebo
India progenuit, tenerisque incoxit ab annis
Virtutem immodicam et generosae incendia mentis.

§ iv. *Codrington's Commendatory Verses on Garth's 'Dispensary'* (1699)[3]

To my Friend the Author,
Desiring my Opinion of his Poem.

Ask me not, friend, what I approve or blame;
Perhaps I know not why I like, or damn:
I can be pleas'd; and I dare own I am.
I read thee over with a lover's eye;
Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I.
Critics and aged beaux of fancy chaste,
Who ne'er had fire, or else whose fire is past,
Must judge by rules what they want force to taste.

[1] *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita*, 1697, reprinted in Chambers's *Lives and Works of English Poets*, London, 1810, vol. ix, p. 568.

[2] Addison's footnote: 'Insig. Dom. Christoph. Codrington, unus ex regii satellitii praefectis.'

[3] Printed in the third edition of *The Dispensary* (London, 1699), and reprinted by Chambers (*ut supra*), vol. ix, p. 429.

I would a poet, like a mistress, try,
Not by her hair, her hand, her nose, her eye;
But by some nameless power, to give me joy.
The nymph has Grafton's,[1] Cecil's,[2] Churchill's charms,[3]
If with resistless fires my soul she warms,
With balm upon her lips, and raptures in her arms.
Such is thy genius, and such art is thine,
Some secret magic works in every line;
We judge not, but we feel the power divine.
Where all is just, is beauteous, and is fair,
Distinctions vanish of peculiar air.
Lost in our pleasure, we enjoy in you
Lucretius, Horace, Sheffield,[4] Montague.[5]
And yet 'tis thought, some critics in this town,
By rules to all, but to themselves, unknown,
Will damn thy verse, and justify their own.
Why let them damn: were it not wondrous hard
Facetious Mirmil[6] and the city bard,[7]
So near ally'd in learning, wit, and skill,
Should not have leave to judge, as well as kill?
Nay, let them write; let them their forces join,
And hope the motley piece may rival thine.
Safely despise their malice, and their toil,
Which vulgar ears alone will reach, and will defile.

[1] The Duchess of Grafton. This, and the other personal references, are explained in *A Compleat Key to the Dispensary by Garth* (3rd ed., London, 1734).

[2] The Countess of Salisbury.

[3] The Lady —— Churchill, one of the Duke of Marlborough's daughters.

[4] John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham. He was a prominent patron of literature and an acquaintance of Codrington. His works were published in 1723 under the direction of Pope.

[5] Lord Halifax.

[6] Dr. Gibbons. He was attacked by Garth in *The Dispensary* as being in league with the apothecaries.

[7] Sir Richard Blackmore. Garth had heavily attacked his narrative poem *Prince Arthur*:

> Then dare not for the future, once rehearse
> The Dissonance of such unequal Verse.
> But in your Lines let Energy be found,
> And learn to rise in Sense, and sink in Sound.

Let him read and digest the works of Wycherley, Dryden, Sheffield, Addison, and Congreve.

Be it thy generous pride to please the best,
Whose judgement, and whose friendship, is a test.
With learned Hans[1] thy healing cares be join'd;
Search thoughtful Ratcliffe[2] to his inmost mind;
Until, restore your arts, and save mankind:
Whilst all the busy Mirmils of the town
Envy our health, and pine away their own.
Whene'er thou would'st a tempting Muse engage,
Judicious Walsh[3] can best direct her rage.
To Somers[4] and to Dorset[5] too submit,
And let their stamp immortalize thy wit.
Consenting Phoebus bows, if they approve,
And ranks thee with the foremost bards above.
Whilst these of right the deathless laurel send,
Be it my humble business to commend
The faithful, honest man, and the well natur'd friend.

Chr. Codrington.

§ v. *Sir Richard Blackmore Versus Codrington and the Wits* (1700)

Blackmore attacks in *A Satyr Against Wit*:

An able Senator is lost in *M*[*oy*]*l*,
And a fine scholar sunk by Wit is *B*[*oy*]*l*.

. . . . . .

The present Age has all their Treasure spent,
They C'ant the Int'rest pay at Five per Cent.
What to discharge it can we hope to raise
From *D*[*ur*]*fy's*, or from Poet *D*[*en*]*n*[*is*]'*s* Plays,
Or *G*[*ar*]*th's* Lampoons with little in't but Praise?

. . . . . .

Codron will under-write his Indian Wit,
Far-fetch'd indeed, so 'twill the Ladies fit.
By Hearsay he 's a Scholar, and they say
The Man 's a sort of Wit too in his way.

. . . . . .

1 Dr. Hans Sloane, the celebrated scholar and physician.

2 Dr. Radcliffe, physician to Queen Mary and Queen Anne, and founder of the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford, now an adjunct to the Bodleian Library.

3 William Walsh, the poet.

4 Lord Somers, the Lord Chancellor.

5 The Earl of Dorset.

The Wits' reply.[1]

Codrington's contribution:

A Short and True History of the Author of the Satyr against Wit.

By Nature meant, by Want a Pedant made,
Bl[*ackmo*]*re* at first profess'd the Whipping Trade;
Grown fond of Buttocks, he wou'd Lash no more,
But kindly cured the A— he Gall'd before.
So Quack commenc'd; then, fierce with Pride, he swore,
That Tooth-ach, Gripes, and Corns shou'd be no more.
In vain his Druggs as well as Birch he try'd,
His Boys grew Blockheads, and his Patients dy'd.
Next he turn'd Bard, and, mounted on a Cart,
Whose hideous Rumbling made *Apollo* start,
Burlesqu'd the Bravest, Wisest Son of *Mars*
In Ballad-rhimes, and all the Pomp of Farce.
Still he chang'd Callings, and at length has hit
On Bus'ness for his matchless Talent fit,
To give us Drenches for the Plague of Wit.

Charles Boyle's contribution:

Let *Bl*[*ackmo*]*re* still, in good King Arthur's Vein,
To *Fleckno's* Empire his just Right maintain.
Let him his own to common Sence oppose,
With Praise and Slander maul both Friends and Foes:
Let him great *Dr*[*y*]*d*[*e*]*n's* awful Name profane;
And learned *G*[*a*]*rth* with envious Pride disdain.
Codron's bright Genius with vile Punns lampoon,
And run a Muck at all the Wits in Town:
Let the Quack scribble any thing but Bills,
His Satyr Wounds not, but his Physick Kills.

Dr. Smith's contribution:

Bid him before he dares to write agen,
Resign his own, and take some other Pen.
D[*ryde*]*n*, shall numbers, *C*[*ongre*]*ve* Wit inspire,
Dr[*a*]*ke* nicest Rules, but *B*[*oy*]*le* and *Codron* fire.

. . . . . .

[1] *Commendatory Verses, on the author of the Two Arthurs and the Satyr Against Wit* (London, 1700).

Lady Sandwich's contribution:

Thou fund of Nonsense, was it not enough
That Cits and pious Ladies lik'd thy stuff,
That as thou Copy'dst Virgil, all might see
Judicious Bell-men Imitated thee.
That to thy Cadence Sextons set their Chimes,
And Nurses skimming Rossets hum'd thy Rhimes.
But thou must needs fall foul of Men of Sence,
With Dullness equal to thy Impudence.
Are *D*[*ryde*]*n*, *C*[*o*]*dr*[*o*]*n*, *G*[*ar*]*th*, *V*[*anbrug*]*h*, *B*[*oy*]*le*,
Those names of Wonder, that adorn our Isle,
Fit Subjects for thy vile Pedantick Pen?
Hence saucy Usher to thy Desk again.

. . . . . .

William Walsh's contribution:[1]

Upon the Character of Codron, as 'tis drawn by the Bungling Knight in his Satyr Against Wit.

How kind is Malice manag'd by a Sot,
Where no Design directs the *Embrio* thought,
And Praise and Satyr stumble out by Lot.
The Mortal Thrust to *Codron's* Heart design'd,
Proves a soft Wanton Touch to charm his Mind.
Can *M*[*o*]*nt*[*a*]*gue* or *D*[*o*]*rs*[*e*]*t* higher soar!
Or can Immortal *Sh*[*e*]*ff*[*ie*]*ld* wish for more?
Brightness, Force, Justness, Delicacy, Ease,
Must form that Wit, that can the Ladies please.
No false affected Rules debauch their Taste,
No fruitless Toils their generous Spirits wast,
Which wear a Wit into a Dunce at last.
No lumber-Learning gives an awkward Pride,
False Maxims cramp not, nor false Lights misguide.
Voiture, and *W*[*e*]*lsh* their easie Hours employ,
Voiture and *W*[*e*]*lsh* oft read will never cloy.
With Care they guard the musick of their Style,
They fly from *B*[*ent*]*ly*, and converse with *B*[*oy*]*le*.[2]

[1] Walsh and Codrington had met in Paris in 1698 (see p. 86, above).

[2] Cf. the literary duel between Dr. Bentley of Cambridge and Charles Boyle (p. 57, above).

They steal no Terms, no notions from the Schools,
The Pedants' Pleasure, and the Pride of Fools;
With native Charms their matchless Thoughts surprise,
Soft as their Souls, and beauteous as their Eyes.
Gay as the Light, and unconfin'd as Air,
Chast and Sublime, all worthy of the Fair.
How then can a rough artless *Indian* Wit
The faultless Palates of the Ladies fit?
Codron will never stand so nice a Test,
Nor is't with Praise fair mouths oblige him best.
Let others make a vain Parade of Parts,
Whilst *Codron* aims not at applause, but Hearts.
Secure him those, and thou shall't name the rest,
Thy Spite shall choose the worst, thy Taste the best.
He will his health to *Mirmils*[1] Care resign,
He will with *Buxtorf* and with *B[ent]ly* shine,
And be a Wit in any way, but thine.[2]

Blackmore's reply to Codrington:[3]

A Short and True History of a Certain Captain-General.

By Nature Small, and of a Dwarfish Breed,
Peevish was sent to School, to Write and Read;
Where brib'd by Gifts the Pedagogick Don
Abus'd the Father, and Deceiv'd the Son;
As for a fresh Reward he prais'd his Child,
And grasp'd one's Sugar, as he t'other spoil'd.
Thence, swol'n with Figures, and possess'd with Tropes,
On *Isis* he bestow'd his Parents Hopes;
And there H'had scarce put on the Tufted-Gown,
And wildly view'd the Colleges and Town,
But Fortune, who no time would let him lose,
Gave him a Royal Infant for his Muse;

[1] i.e. Dr. Gibbons.

[2] Other contributors of verses were: George Markham, Brown, Colonel Stanhope, Clotwood, Captain Mordaunt, Brady, the Marquis of Normanby, Adams, Dr. Baynard, Sir Henry Cheere, Sir Charles Sedley, Henry Blount, Dr. Morley, Captain Richard Steele, John Dennis, Arthur Henley (to whom *The Dispensary* had been dedicated), Lord Anglesey, Lord Carbury, Dr. Drake, Arthur Mainwaring, &c., &c.

[3] *Discommendatory Verses on those which are Truly Commendatory on the Author of the Two Arthurs and the Satyr against Wit*, London, 1700.

And Him he sung with Whimsies in his Brains,
Praising a borrow'd Prince, with borrow'd Strains.

Next, when the Doubtful Times were chang'd He saw,
He left the *Son*, to praise the *Son-in-Law*;
And with his Righteous Undertaking warm'd,
He star'd, and in Pindarick Frenzie storm'd;
As wisely He the strongest side caress'd,
And *Curs'd* the Babe his selfish Lays had *Bless'd*.
All matters fix'd, and likely to remain
In favour of the Great *Nassovian's* Reign,
The Dapper 'Squire revolving in his Thought,
That he that Rhim'd not pleas'd as he that Fought;
To Arms, as fast as Legs would carry, ran,
And Fretfully resolv'd to be a Man.
And since no Spark had walk'd up *High Street* bolder,
The Fellow-Commoner turn'd Fellow-Soldier;
In Camps pursuing what in Schools h'had read,
As he *Lampoon'd* the very Foes he *Fled*.

But Heav'n, least some mischievous Ball should hit
This little Prodigy of Rhimes and Wit,
Put it in *William's* thoughtful Head to make
A *Peace*, and fight no more for Fighting's sake:
Thence he return'd, and a rich Father Dead,
Fatten'd the growing Maggots in his Head,
As he wrote Epigrams for Ladies Smiles,
And govern'd in B[ow] street the Leeward Isles.
And now he rides a Tiptoe in his Coach,
Frowning at every Hack that dares approach;
As he by Prince and Subject both prefer'd,
Is own'd a Patron, and adjudg'd a Bard;
A Patron fit for *Br*[*ow*]*n's* and *Ma*[*inwarin*]*g's* Flights,
If he *Rewards* no better than he *Writes*.

Blackmore's reply to Walsh:

To Codron's and the Ladys' Humble Servant.

Not that I blame your Flatt'ry, or your Spleen,
But prithee give 's the Sence of what you mean:
Can *Bl*[*ackmo*]*re* write without *Design*, or *Art*,
And yet design a —— at *Codron's* Heart?

Unthinking Bard! stuff'd up with Praise and Spight,
Gravely consider next before you write;
And if you'd shew a man of Sence and Stile,
Bring other Vouchers than a Lady's Smile:
For if I know 'em well, they'd rather chuse
His P—tle to *divert* 'em than his *Muse*.

To the Same, on the same Subject.

Codron may *please* the Ladies, as he writes,
And pretty things for pretty things Endites;
But thou be damn'd, and fling away thy Pen,
Such Fops as thou, can never *please* the Men.

To the Same, occasion'd by the Verse which reflects on Dr. Gibbons, viz. 'He will his Health to Mirmils Care Resign'.

Friend, by my Soul, the Devil 's in thy Quill,
Or thou would'st never write and judge so ill;
For whilst thou Laugh'st at Gibbon's skill, 'tis sure,
Thou stand'st in need thy self of Tyson's Cure.[1]
Nor would the Youth, the Subject of thy Song,
Accept thy Flatt'ries, or permit thy Tongue
To blast his Credit with defaming Praise,
And take Lethargick *Opiats* from thy *Lays*;
Was *He* the *Man* thy Rhimes would have him be,
Or *Thou* the *Man* for whom he judges thee.

§ vi. '*The Fate of Capua*, A Tragedy as it is acted at the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, by His Majesty's Servants, Written by T. Southerne.'[2] (London, 1700.)

Epilogue

Written by Coll. Codrington, and spoken by Mrs. Barry.

Poets fine Titles for themselves may find:
I think 'em the Fool-mongers of Mankind.
The charitable Quacks indeed pretend,
They trade in Fools, only those Fools to mend.

[1] Original footnote, 'Dr. Tyson is Physician to Bethlem Hospital'.

[2] The plot of this play may be summarized as follows: Virginius and Junius are two noblemen of Capua and close friends. The former is an adherent of Hannibal; the latter is for Rome. Virginius marries Favonia who

Yet they wou'd scarce the nauseous talk endure,
But that, like Bedlam Doctors, they are sure
To get, by showing Fools they cannot cure.
Equal in this, all Plays must be confest;
Fool is the fav'rite Dish of the whole Feast.
In Farce, the Wit 's a Fool, or Fool 's a Wit.
In Comedy, the Beau pretends a right.
But Tragick Writers still agree to plot
The greatest Heroe, for the greatest Sot.
Our Bard to indulge your Taste with vast delight,
Serv'd up a Senate full of Fools to-night:
Some bustled hard for Hannibal, and some
Wou'd venture all the Brains they had for Rome.
Thus fighting Fools support ambitious Knaves:
Whoe're prevail'd, the Capuans still were Slaves.
Our pair of Friends shine far above the rest,
With double share of Fool, and Heroe blest.
Our Lover wou'd not tempt the Lady's Honour;
Yet had he boldly pusht, and fairly won her,
You'll all allow, he wou'd less harm have done her.
Joys well contriv'd are had at easier price.
Thank Heav'n our British Friends are not so nice.
Our most important Fool is still behind:
The man was marry'd, Sirs, and sick in mind.
'Twas a meer whim of Honour cost his Life.
The Squeamish Capuan wou'd not share his Wife.
Why Wives are Wives: and he that will be billing,
Must not think Cuckholdom deserves a killing.
What if the gentle Creature had been kissing,
Nothing the good Man marry'd for, was missing.
Besides the Rights of Ladies sacred are:
He shou'd have been content with Neighbours Fare.

is grateful for her exalted position but cold, loving Junius. At the battle of Cannae Junius is taken prisoner and lodged in Virginius' house, where he meets Favonia. Later he enters her chamber while she is asleep and kisses her hand. As she awakes, Virginius and Paeuvius, her father, enter, and are convinced of her guilt. After much consultation Favonia is left alone with her father's dagger and a cup of poison. Junius enters, followed shortly afterwards by Virginius. They fight a duel on the spot, during which they are both wounded. Junius explains Favonia's innocence. They then both die.

But she, by her coy Gallant's Crime, was good,
And was not won, because she was not woo'd.
Had he the secret of his Birth-right known,
'Tis odds the faithful Annals wou'd have shown,
The Wives of half this Race, more luckie than his own.

§ vii. *Iphigenia, A Tragedy*, by John Dennis. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields. London, 1700.

Epilogue, by Col. Codrington.

Our Bard shall end to-night as he began,
Prologue, Play, Epilogue shall speak the Man,
Shew a more Tragick Poet if you can.
With Pride he owns that he would gain your Hearts,
But he will use no little Whorish arts.
With Pride he owns, that 'tis his glorious Aim
To court and to possess the Tragick Dame.
How can he court, or how can he possess,
Who shames the Goddess by a foreign Dress?
That decks her like a trivial merry Muse,
Or a rank strumpet strolling from the Stews.
Yet thus disguis'd she oft has here been shown,
To all her genuine Votaries unknown,
Yet still you thought the mothy Garb her own.
Oft have you seen her with the Comick Muse,
Walk hand in hand; Grimace and Posture use,
Debase her Majesty, and Terror lose.
What needs such Art your kind applause to win?
What needs such Farce to drive away your spleen?
Who thus are pleas'd, have Farce enough within.
Our Bard resolves to steer a diff'rent Course,
And travel upward to the *Grecian* Source;
Where he at first saw the chaste aweful maid,
And with observing Eyes her Charms survey'd.
Those charms he would with a bold Hand express,
Nor make them fainter by an English Dress.
To please the Great, the Gen'rous, and the Fair
Shall ever be his Pride, and be his Care.

Next he would stand the knowing Critick's Test,
To Fortune unconcern'd he leaves the rest
For well he knows the Ignorant and the Base
Scatter in waste their Censure and their Praise.

§ viii. *Speech of the Honble. Charles Boyle before the House of Commons in defence of Codrington* (1702)[1]

Mr. Speaker,

I attended this Committee; and all that appeared there considerable against Colonel Codrington, came from one who appeared plainly to be a prejudiced Person; for he was at the same time, and for the same thing a Witness here, and a Petitioner in another place, against the Governor. His Evidence, Sir, was so frivolous, and so absurd, and so much consisted either of Hearsay, or of his own Injuries, that I was of Opinion it ought not to have been taken down; that when it was taken, it ought not to have been reported; and now it is reported, I am confident it cannot find Credit with any Gentleman, who will give himself the Trouble to consider it impartially. 'Twas said publickly in the House, when this Petition was brought in, (and I have Reason to believe some Gentlemen were prepossessed with the opinion,) that Colonel Codrington had illegally got Possession of an Estate of two thousand Pounds per Annum; but I must appeal to the Gentlemen who were of this Committee, if there was the least Proof, nay, of the least Insinuation offered touching any such thing; though the Petitioner had all the fair Play in the World both to make out this, and all the rest of his Charge; for he fought plainly against a Gentleman, who had no weapons; he accused a Man at a great Distance, who is yet, in all Probability ignorant that there is any such Accusation against him, and therefore could not instruct any Body to plead his Cause; though it happened pretty luckily, That in every thing alledged against him, either the trifling Charge, or the weak Proofs, were the strongest Defence in the World for him.

But, Sir, I must say, with Submission that if any Thing had been made out against this Gentleman, yet this House could

[1] D. E. Budgell, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles, Particularly of the Late Eminently Learned Charles, Earl of Orrery* (London, 1737), pp. 203–8.

not regularly now come to any Resolution against him. This Petitioner preferred a Complaint, as he ought to do, to the King: His Majesty referred the Examination of the Complaint to the Commissioners of Trade; They made their Report of it, and according to that Report, made an Order in Council, which I have here. This Order is as full, and as much to the Advantage of the Petitioner as he could reasonably desire; and therefore he ought not to have come here, till the Governor had refused to give a satisfactory Answer to this Order; and I am of Opinion, that if the House had been fairly acquainted with the Steps of this Matter, they would not have received this Petition. But certainly, Sir, for the House to do any thing more in it now, is going out of the way to do a particular Hardship, if not Injustice: 'Tis not only giving Judgement, in my opinion, for a Man that has proved Nothing, but against a Man that has not been heard.

But I hope, Sir, this Gentleman's Character, will at least defend him here, as well as everywhere else, from any unreasonable or unwarrantable Severity: I may modestly say, he has as clear and as general a Reputation as any Man and has done as much both at Home and Abroad to deserve it; and there is no Body that knows him, I dare say, but believes him to have too much Honour to do any Injustice, and too much Sense to do any thing that is ridiculous; and that he is much likelier both from his Generosity, as well as his Probity, to give away an Estate, than to take one away. (I hope, Sir, what I have said will not be owing to Partiality. I am very conscious to myself, that if I would have acted the Part of a true Friend, I should have been silent, but then I thought I should be wanting in my Duty to this House, where, whilst I have the Honour to sit, I shall look upon myself to be as much obliged to defend the Innocent, as to prosecute the Guilty.) The plain Truth of this Matter, is, Sir, that this Gentleman has too much Merit to be endured by those that have none; and I am very well assured, both from the Character of his Accusers, and his own, that he is really, and at the Bottom more hated for his good Qualities, than disliked for his Management; His Impartiality has drawn upon him the Enmity of those who stood in need of his Favour; and his Integrity has exasperated those who could have lived much better by his Corruption.

§ ix. *Hudson's Dedication of Volume II of his 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus'* (1704)

Excellenti ac Perillustri
Viro D. Christophoro Codringtono
Insularum Lewardicarum Gubernatori,
et
Copiarum Regiarum ibidem Praefecto.

Non dubito (Nobilissime Domine) quin plerisque inconsultus esse videar, quod ad tui patrocinium, qui mediis in armis versaris, advolare gestiam; planeque temerarius, qui Dionysium, e tristi naufragio cum ingenti sui damno emersum, ad te advehi velim, tam magno aquarum intervallo a nobis disjunctum. Sed hi erunt fere qui nesciunt, quod Musas in castris et campo tui comites individuas habeas, easque summa cum humanitate in tuum contubernium soleas recipere, quodque prolixa adeo literas prosequaris benevolentia, ut illae libenter vel quodvis discrimen adire sustineant, modo tandem aliquando in tuum veniant conspectum, tuoque fruantur sinu et amplexu. Isti si te nossent spatiis Academiae inclusum, qua aviditate et quam incredibili vigore artes liberales arripueris, et ad ingenui cultum capessendum nihil ardui intentatum reliqueris; ut cunctis lauream praeripueris, quoties poeseos amoenitatibus animum oblectare placuit, ut singulari perspicacitate super omnes excellueris, quoties in Philosophiae et Matheseos subtilitatibus temet exercere contigit; utque nos universos eloquentiae tuae virilis admiratione perculeris, cum pleno academicorum confessu Regem magnifica oratione alloquutus es, et praeclara belli facinora eodem animo, quo patrata erant, enarrasti: profecto una mecum sentirent, hunc Rhetorem tibi potissimum dicari oportere, qui unus omnium optime intelligis, quanti aestimanda sit coelestis illa, quam docet, facundia; quique ita divinioris quasi naturae manu fictus es et formatus, ut, tanto dicendi Magistro tibi viam monstrante et muniente, pari facilitate posses eloquendi facultate et artificio Periclem aequare, qua illum belligerendi scientia rerumque gestarum magnitudine superasti. Si, inquam, nossent, te omnem acris ingenii vim in literis percipiendis olim adhibuisse, ac praeterea omni magni animi cura et cogitatione earum dignitati augendae jam incumbere; istud procul dubio probarent consilium, ut literae (quae hoc praecipuum habent, quod norint suis fautoribus

aliquam rependere gratiam) tuam in pacis artibus fovendis benignitatem tam longe lateque praedicarent, quam virtutem tuam laudemque bellicam pervulgavit vocale famae praeconium. Imo cum viderint quod tua liberalitate et munificentia in libris elegantiae exquisitioris coemendis jam confectum est, senserintque quod tua voluntate est designatum, ne quid literis humanioribus ad summum decus atque amplitudinem deesset; insuper et illud cogitarint, quod te jam poscat flagitetque Britannia, ut, suo te iterum gremio complectens, fortissimorum virorum lenius ferat desiderium, quos, pro Europae libertate fortiter pugnantes, et nobilem victoriam reportantes, ferrum abstulit: certe optimum factu judicabunt, ut ad te ultimis in terris agentem, et omnia ad Anglorum gloriam et splendorem revocantem velo remigioque confugeret Dionysius, non tam sibimet ut quaerat et imploret praesidium, quam ut tuum in patriam acceleraret reditum: quo facilius bello, per Germaniae viscera grassanti, finem imponamus, pacique leges, aeternis sanciendas auspiciis. Interea omnes, qui ex factis tuis amplissimis conjiciunt, quantum rei militari ad bellorum subsidium, quantum rei literariae ad pacis ornamentum, ex tui accessurum est praesentia, ut salvus quam primum ad tui amantissimos redeas optant voventque. In quibus cum et ego numerari velim, Deum supplex veneror, ut quae praeclara animo agitasti felicem ad nostrae laetitiae tuaeque gloriae et dignitatis incrementum sortiantur exitum: et, cum tuos successus beata clauserit immortalitas, iste supremus felicitati tuae accedat cumulus, historicus Thucydidis aut Xenophontis (dicam an Tuimet?) simillimus ingenio, cui curae sit res tuas gestas, ad optimas Dionysii de historia texenda leges, describere, et literarum monumentis ad omnem posteritatis memoriam consignare.

Excellentiae Tuae
Addictissimus
Joannes Hudsonus.

§ x. *Extract from Tickell's 'Oxford'* (1712)[1]

Bear me, some god, to Christ Church, royal seat,
And lay me softly in the green retreat,

[1] Reprinted in Chambers's *English Poets*, vol. xi, p. 132. The poem is inscribed to Lord Lonsdale.

Where Aldrich holds o'er Wit the sovereign power,
And crowns the poets which he taught before.

. . . . . .

O'er all the plains, the streams, and woods around,
The pleasing lays of sweetest bards resound;
A faithful echo every note returns,
And listening river gods neglect their urns
Where Codrington and Steele their verse unrein,
And form an easy unaffected strain.
A double wreath of laurel binds their brow
As they are poets and are warriors too.

APPENDIX C

DISTINGUISHED DESCENDANTS

For the past century the Codringtons have maintained a notable family tradition of naval and military service, which has continued to the present day. One of the most prominent examples of this circumstance is General Sir William John Codrington of the Coldstream Guards, who served with distinction through the Crimean War in command of a brigade of the Light Division, and subsequently of the Division itself. In succession to General Simpson he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British army; he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Bath and knighted, and presented with French, Sardinian, and Turkish Orders. Eventually he was elected Member of Parliament for Greenwich, and after a period of political activity became Governor of Gibraltar.

Even more remarkable was the career of his father the famous Admiral Sir Edward Codrington.[1] Joining the navy in 1783 he took part as a lieutenant on board the *Queen Charlotte* in the battle of 'the glorious First of June'. Rapidly gaining the confidence of his seniors, Captain Codrington was in May 1805 appointed to command H.M.S. *Orion* and proceeded to the Mediterranean to take part in the service of that eventful year. On board the *Orion*, which was one of the foremost ships in the chase after Villeneuve, he did his duty at Trafalgar, making a bonfire (as he put it) of the French ship *L'Intrépide*. Later, in 1809, as captain of the *Blake*, he took part in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition, acquitting himself so well before the batteries of Flushing that he was specially mentioned in dispatches by Sir Richard Strachan. After a period of very active service on the Spanish coast during the Peninsular War, the *Blake* came home in 1813.

In less than eighteen months after being put on half-pay the war with America called Codrington back to active service. In May 1814 he left England for North America to join Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane as Captain of the Fleet. 'In this capacity', Lady Bourchier records, 'he was with him in the *Chesapeake* when the city of Washington was taken, the

[1] The following sketch is based on Lady Bourchier's *Memoir of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington*, 2 vols., London, 1873.

American flotilla in the Penobscot destroyed, the passage of the Potomac forced, and the city of Alexandria obliged to surrender all its shipping in the harbour.' Afterwards he accompanied the expedition to New Orleans. At the conclusion of peace with the United States he was made a K.C.B. and promoted to be Rear-Admiral.

But it is as the leading figure in the Navarino episode that Sir Edward Codrington is chiefly remembered. In December 1826 he was appointed to the Mediterranean command, that is to say, a few months before Ibrahim Pasha brought his powerful force from Egypt to subjugate the Greeks. It is unnecessary to repeat here in detail so well-known a piece of European history. In a word, Canning, the English Premier, was determined to check Russian aggression against the Turks by inducing the other Great Powers to participate in concerted action. By the treaty of July 1827 between England, Russia, and France, it was agreed that Greece should become autonomous and that the contending parties should be summoned to accept the mediation of the Powers and to consent to an armistice. To Codrington was assigned the difficult task of enforcing the armistice and yet, by all possible means, avoiding hostilities. Nor were his difficulties lessened by the animosity existing between the French and Russian admirals, who were both under his command.

Roused to indignation by the news that the Greeks had broken the armistice, Ibrahim sent a strong squadron from Navarino to attack them in the Gulf of Corinth. On the 3rd of October this squadron was met by Codrington and induced to return. But in view of the Turkish attitude and the difficulty of blockading Navarino, Codrington determined to take station with his entire force alongside the Turkish ships inside the bay. Then, despite his careful precautions, the famous 'untoward incident' took place. By nightfall the bay was strewn with Turkish wreckage and corpses.

Though personally decorated with the G.C.B. and many foreign orders, Codrington's action received a very lukewarm reception at the hands of the Fabian Ministry of Wellington, who feared to continue Canning's bold and energetic policy. They did not desire to 'cast the least imputation upon the gallant officer who commanded at Navarino'; but eight months later

they recalled him nevertheless. His instructions warranted the action taken: they would equally have warranted a policy of non-intervention. Horrified at the Turkish atrocities, and knowing that English opinion was strongly in favour of the Greeks, he had chosen to strike. That the Government should have refused to follow up so decisive a 'gesture' was a calamity in more ways than one.

In 1830 Codrington visited the Courts of St. Petersburg and Versailles, and was received by the respective monarchs with the highest distinction. In 1837 he was promoted to be Admiral of the Blue, and two years later was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth. Finally after nine years of peaceful retirement, he died in 1851, admired by all and beloved of many. The same man who could steer his way with courage and tact among the shoals of international relations, could write, 'a merry new year to my dear old wife, says her affectionate husband, sad as he feels from being so far away from her and her dear bairns'.[1]

The military career of his elder son, General Sir William, was balanced by that of the younger, Admiral Sir Henry John Codrington, who entered the navy in 1823. He was present as a signal midshipman at the battle of Navarino where he was severely wounded. After serving as his father's flag-lieutenant through the summer of 1831, he was promoted to be commander in October. Seven years later he was given command of the *Talbot*, an obsolete old hulk. 'And yet', we are told, 'this little ship, with an armament of obsolete popguns, was so handled by Codrington as to be an effective addition to the Mediterranean fleet, and to take a not unimportant part in the bombardment of Acre 4 November 1840.'[2] Codrington himself made the preliminary reconnaissance, taking soundings by night close in under the walls of the town.

After a period of interesting service on the Italian coast during the Revolution of 1848, Codrington in command of the *Royal George* served under Sir Charles Napier in the Baltic during the two seasons of 1854 and 1855. As Senior Captain of the Fleet and an expert in tactical theory, he suggested various plans to Napier, a commander of very mediocre capacity, who rejected

[1] *Memoirs* (*ut supra*), vol. i, p. 196.
[2] See article under name in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

them. This, together with other circumstances, prevented the establishment of anything approaching cordial relations.

By successive stages Codrington rose to be Admiral of the Fleet in 1877. In this capacity he never had the chance of active service. Had that opportunity occurred, his previous career and close attention to the development of naval strategy would have fitted him to serve his country with even greater distinction and brilliance.[1] In our own time the family tradition of military service is being maintained among others by Lieut-General Sir Alfred Codrington, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., his son Colonel Geoffrey Codrington, D.S.O., O.B.E. Representing another branch of the family is Brigadier-General Hubert Walter Codrington, C.B.

[1] Cf. Codrington MSS. A (*Notes*, vol. ii, p. 29).

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